
CICERO
PHILIPPIC II.

TEXT AND NOTES





70
John Hatcher

The University Tutorial Series

Classical Editor

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CICERO: PHILIPPIC II.

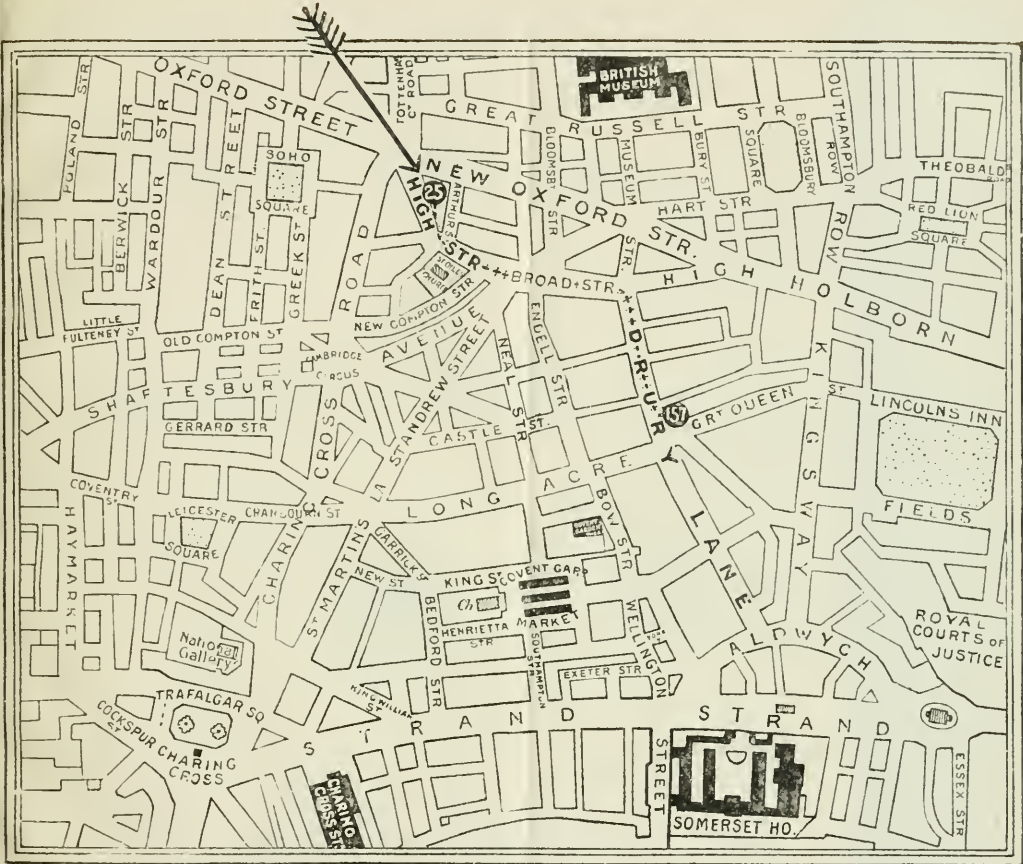
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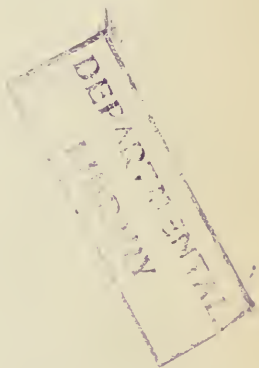
The University Tutorial Series

CICERO
PHILIPPIC II.

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **Marcus Tullius Cicero**, the greatest of Roman orators, was born at Arpinum in 106 B.C. His family was of equestrian rank, but had never held any office in Rome. Cicero was accordingly a *novus homo*, and his struggle to obtain the praetorship and consulship was on that account made harder. He was sent while still a young lad to Rome, and there studied under the best masters, such as Archias. In 91 B.C. he assumed the *toga virilis*, and then attended the lectures of orators and lawyers. He was entrusted by his father to the special care of Mucius Scaevola, the Augur, from whose side he hardly ever departed. At that time the easiest method of obtaining civic fame and success was by means of oratory, and as Cicero had a natural talent for this art, he cultivated it in preference to devoting himself to a military life. However, he served, as was usual with young Romans who aspired to public office, one campaign, and this happened to be in the Social War (89 B.C.) under Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great. For the next six years he took no part in public affairs, but devoted his time to the study of rhetoric and the various schools of philosophy.

The first of his extant speeches is that *Pro P. Quinctio*, which was delivered in 81 B.C. Two years later, in a criminal trial, he defended Sextus Roscius Amerinus, whose accuser was Chrysogonus, the powerful freedman of Sulla. It was very bold in Cicero to undertake this defence, but his boldness was equalled by his eloquence; and his success on this occasion placed him at once amongst the best orators of the day. Ill-health obliged him to retire to Rhodes and Athens, where he continued his study of rhetoric and philosophy for two years, returned to Rome in 77 B.C., and was elected quaestor for the year 75 B.C.

He served this office at Lilybaeum in Sicily, and acquired golden opinions from the natives through his integrity, impartiality, and self-denial. In 74 B.C. he returned to Rome and again devoted himself to his profession as an advocate. In 70 B.C. he undertook the impeachment of Verres, who was charged by the Sicilians with having been guilty of misgovernment, oppression, and extortion when Quaestor in Sicily 73-71 B.C. The result of Cicero's onslaught was that Verres departed at once into exile without even attempting a defence.

In politics Cicero was a fairly consistent member of the senatorial party, or party of the nobles (*Optimātes*). The Opposition was the Democratic party, or party of the people; and there were numbers of disappointed men of all ranks of society ready for revolution in any form if they could find a leader. Cicero was Aedile 69 B.C., Praetor 66 B.C.—in this year he advocated the *Lex Manilia* giving to Pompeius the conduct of the war against Mithradates—and Consul 63 B.C. The revolutionary movement had by this time taken the form of a widespread conspiracy; its members were of every class, even senators and consulars; it had branches in many Italian towns; its object was to overthrow the government of the Senate by violence and substitute a Democratic government; and from the name of its leader, it was known as the Catilinarian conspiracy (see Index, *s.v.* CATILINA). Cicero by means of spies kept himself informed of all its movements, and at the close of 63 B.C. suddenly arrested five of the leading conspirators. A few days later, acting upon the expressed opinion of a majority of the Senate, he had them executed, although as Roman citizens they were exempt from such punishment. The remainder, attempting to carry out their plans by force of arms, were defeated at Pistoria (62 B.C.), where Catilina fell.

§ 2. C. Julius Caesar, born 102 B.C., boasted descent from the noblest *gens* in Rome, in fact from the legendary Iulus, the son of Aeneas. He was closely connected by marriage both with Marius and Cinna, the two democratic opponents of the Senate, and with its champion Sulla; for his aunt Julia married Marius, and the first wife of Caesar

himself was Cornelia the daughter of Cinna. By these democratic alliances and his own personal abilities he speedily attracted so much of Sulla's attention that he found it desirable to withdraw from Rome, only returning after Sulla's death (78 B.C.). He did not, however, come prominently into public life until some years later, although as early as 63 B.C., being then praetor-elect, he was already recognised as perhaps the most capable member of the democratic party. This was the year of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and his enemies averred that he was himself a party thereto. For this there is no evidence either way. In this year also he was elected Pontifex Maximus.

Having served with distinction as pro-praetor of Further Spain in 61 B.C., he returned to Rome in the following spring to find Pompeius lately returned from the completion of the Mithradatic War. Pompeius was by breeding and preference a senatorian, but he was still more a self-seeker; and, just as in 70 B.C., because the Senate refused to accede to his demands, he had led a democratic revolution, so now in 60 B.C., for similar reasons, he allied himself with the democrat Caesar. This alliance, when presently extended to include the millionaire M. Crassus who represented the *equites* (the capitalists and commercial men of Rome), constituted the First Triumvirate. By the aid of these allies Pompeius obtained what he desired—ratification *en bloc* of all his doings in the East, lands in Campania for his veteran soldiery, and a triumph. By their help too P. Clodius was enabled to secure the banishment of Cicero on the ground that he had put *cives* (the five Catilinarians) to death without appeal; thus avenging himself for what he believed to be Cicero's malice in witnessing against him when on trial for the profanation of the Mysteries in 62 B.C. Crassus received, as his reward for joining the alliance, better terms for the tax-farmers in Asia. A further result of the coalition, of far more vital importance, was that Caesar received (by the *Lex Vatinia*) an extraordinary appointment for five years as governor of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum. A few months later the Senate added

Transalpine Gaul to his command, hoping that he might come to a bad end in the attempt to oust the German invader Ariovistus from Gaul. Caesar annihilated the Germans in a single battle, and then proceeded to conquer the whole of Gaul in detail. The task was a big one: it was so far from completed in 56 B.C. that he took steps to have his appointment prolonged for another term of five years.

In the meantime the other Triumvirs, Pompeius and Crassus, had quarrelled with one another and with everyone else, and P. Clodius Pulcher had taken advantage of the fact to make himself the exponent of mob-rule. The Senate found a champion of the same stamp, but of opposite political opinions, in T. Annius Milo; and these two "gladiators" fought almost daily in the streets. Government was at a standstill; the Triumvirs were threatened with eclipse; Cicero (whose recall from exile had been effected in 57 B.C., mainly by Pompeius in order to spite Clodius) fondly believed that he was strong enough to rally the Senate to the recovery of its ancient supremacy, and to win over Pompeius to its side. But at the Conference of Luca in 56 B.C., where Caesar met his fellow Triumvirs again, fresh arrangements were made which secured for the three a further lease of power. Pompeius and Crassus were assured of the consulate of 55 B.C., and as consuls they secured the passing of a bill (*Lex Licinia-Pompeia*) by which the original term of Caesar's command, as authorized by the *Lex Vatinia* of 59 B.C., was extended for a further five years. The two consuls also obtained five-year commands, Pompeius in Spain, Crassus in Syria against the Parthians. Pompeius never left Italy: Crassus did, and was slain with most of his army at Carrhae beyond the Euphrates, in 53 B.C.

§ 3. Meantime Pompeius' natural inclination towards the senatorial party was steadily reasserting itself. This tendency was very materially quickened when (in 54 B.C.) he lost his wife Julia, Caesar's daughter. He felt that he owed his position since Luca to Caesar,—felt, that is, that Caesar was the better man, and therefore felt jealous. He hoped to use the Senate to gratify his jealousy. The

Senate, for its part, hoped to use Pompeius to rid it of Caesar. It flattered him, and he succumbed to the flattery, particularly when (in 52 B.C.) it appointed him sole consul to deal with the disorders consequent upon the assassination of Clodius by Milo. He felt himself strong enough to challenge Caesar. An account of the exact course of the quarrel between the two is not needful here. It is sufficient to explain that Pompeius' plan was to reduce Caesar to the condition of a *privatus*, a man without office, in which condition he would be at the mercy of his enemies. Caesar's aim was to prevent any such manoeuvres. Pompeius, though nominally the head of the senatorial party, was no statesman. He had neither resource, nor tact, nor the courage of his opinions; nor could he command the obedience of the party which he called his own. Caesar, on the other hand, had all these qualifications. He had already filled Rome with energetic agents (amongst them Antonius), bound to his interests by money lent, and allured by the prospect of honours to come in the event of Caesar's success. A section, a small and feeble section, of the Senate was in favour of compromise, and strove to secure consideration of the overtures which Caesar made for a peaceful solution of the rival claims of himself and of Pompeius. Their well-meant efforts were overborne by the more extreme anti-Caesarians. One after another all attempts at conciliation were rejected by the extremists; one after another the high-handed proposals of the extremists were blocked by tribunes in Caesar's interest or Caesar's pay. The extremists finally forced through the Senate the *Senatus Consultum Ultimum* (§ 51), the resolution which was customarily passed in crises of extreme domestic peril, and which was tantamount to declaring martial-law, to branding Caesar as an outlaw, and to bidding the consuls arm against him. The tribunes Antonius and Cassius (§ 51), having in vain exhausted all constitutional means to prevent this step, believed, or professed to believe, their safety imperilled, and fled to Caesar at Ravenna, calling upon him to maintain the sacrosanct rights of the tribunate. It was on this plea, nominally, that Caesar crossed the Rubicon, and so doing

declared war upon his country, in the early days of 49 B.C.

§ 4. Marcus Antonius was born about 83 B.C., his father being another M. Antonius, nick-named Creticus for his ill-success in dealing with the Cretan pirates 74 B.C., and his uncle being that C. Antonius Hybrida, who was colleague of Cicero in the consulship of 63 B.C. His grandfather M. Antonius, put to death by Marius in 87 B.C., was of some repute as an orator, but with this exception the family does not appear to have been distinguished either for morals or for ability. Cicero's evidence is of course unreliable, but there is reason to believe that the morals of the young M. Antonius were even worse, if his abilities were greater, than those of his kinsmen. He first distinguished himself in public life as a partizan of P. Clodius Pulcher, the violent mob-leader, in his tribuneship of 58 B.C., though there is no reason to believe Cicero's assertion (§ 48) that it was Antonius who inspired Clodius' violence. On the contrary, he left Rome before Clodius had fully developed his lawless methods, and gained some credit for his services in the army of A. Gabinius in Egypt (§ 48), 56 B.C. Thence he passed to Gaul, where he served as a *legatus* to Caesar in one or two campaigns (55, 54 B.C.), and it was doubtless now that he fell under the influence of the future Dictator; for when other means failed him, Caesar had a potent engine for securing adherents in the wealth which he gathered from his Gallie conquests, and there is good reason to think that Antonius was glad to sell his allegiance for the funds which he required to enable him to resume public life in Rome. At any rate he returned to the city in 53 B.C. to stand for the quaestorship, Caesar furthering his canvass by securing Cicero's approbation (§ 49). Elected quaestor for 52 B.C., Antonius at once returned to Caesar, revisiting Rome in 50 B.C., when he was elected a member of the College of Augurs (§ 4), and stood as a candidate for the tribunate of 49 B.C. Amongst the outgoing tribunes of 50 B.C. was C. Curio, once a senatorian, but now a vehement partizan of Caesar as against Pompeius and the Senate. By Cicero's account, Antonius was the victim, willing or

unwilling, of Curio's unscrupulousness: it is quite as likely that Caesar's personal influence and Caesar's money were the responsible factors.

§ 5. The promptitude with which Caesar acted upon the appeal of the tribunes and forthwith invaded Italy, took the Senate and Pompeius by surprise. Without attempting to defend Rome they retired upon Campania, and thence across the Adriatic to Epirus, there waiting idly while their opponent secured his hold upon the western portion of the empire. M. Aemilius Lepidus was named city prefect; the tribune Antonius was granted the rank and powers of a pro-praetor; and to these two officers was left the care of Italy and Rome. Caesar in person sailed at once for Massilia (*Marseilles*), a city of immense strength, which C. Domitius Ahenobarbus was holding for Pompeius. He stayed here only long enough to determine the plan of siege which his *legatus* C. Trebonius was left to carry out, hurrying thence across the Pyrenees to Spain, where at Ilerda on the Sicoris (*Lerida* on the *Sègre*) he destroyed a Pompeian army under Afranius and Petreius (§ 57). The capitulation of Massilia immediately followed, and Caesar returned to Rome in the autumn. He was named Dictator *comitiorum habendorum causa*, was returned senior consul for the new year (48 B.C.), and spent the next few weeks in various measures for the restoration of public credit. By Cicero's account Antonius had made only bad use of his authority, spending most of the time in a scandalous tour of the towns of Middle Italy (§ 58).

In the spring of 48 B.C. Caesar crossed into Epirus and laid siege to Pompeius in Dyrrhachium (*Durazzo*), Antonius doing brilliant work as officer in command of the line of communications, with his base at Brundisium. Pompeius cleverly made good his escape from Dyrrhachium, but Caesar, by an equally able movement, caught up with him in Thessaly, forced him (August 9th) to give battle near Pharsalus, and annihilated his army.

Cicero had withdrawn, like most of his party, to the camp of Pompeius at Dyrrhachium. Antonius sneered at his behaviour there. If what Cicero says is true, his attitude to Pompeius was in effect that of him who says "I

always told you so," though at the same time he claims to have kept Pompeius' cordial good will (§§ 37-39). However, he had left the camp before the *débâcle*, and Caesar, desirous of disarming him by amity, readily allowed him to return to Italy. He landed at Brundisium, where Antonius offered him no molestation. Cicero regards this as no kindness on Antonius' part; Antonius, on the contrary, represented it as an act of mercy (§§ 5, 6, 60) for which the other was not sufficiently grateful. For obvious reasons Cicero took no part in public life from this time forward until Caesar's death, save that he acted as counsel for the Galatian prince Deiotarus, when the latter was accused of plotting against Caesar's life (§ 95). It was during these years of retirement (48-45 B.C.) that many of his philosophical works were written.

Troubles in Egypt (the Alexandrine War) kept Caesar busy until 47 B.C., when he passed to Asia Minor to put down a rising led by Pharnaces of Pontus, the son of the great Mithradates. One battle sufficed to end this danger—the battle of Ziela (47 B.C.), concerning which was penned the famous despatch *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. It was now that Deiotarus suffered deposition (§ 94) for his Pompeian sympathies.

After a brief stay at Rome, Caesar next crossed into Africa, where, since the death of Curio in 49 B.C., the Pompeian party had been left to rally at leisure under M. Cato, Metellus Scipio, Petreius, and Afranius. Their united forces were vanquished at Thapsus in the following spring (46 B.C.), Cato subsequently committing suicide at Utica. A small remnant led by the sons of Pompeius, fled once more to Spain, whither Caesar followed in 45 B.C., and at Munda (near *Cordova*) finally extinguished this, the last of the Pompeian armies. In neither the African nor the Spanish campaigns did Antonius participate (§ 71). He set out indeed to join his chief in Spain, but got no farther than Narbo (§ 75). Possibly the campaign was ended before he could complete the journey. He was, however, the first to proceed to welcome the conqueror on his return (§ 78).

§ 6. Caesar had been a second time declared Dictator in

47 B.C. His *Magister Equitum* was Antonius. Cicero says that this appointment was made "without Caesar's knowledge" (§ 62), which cannot be true. Antonius, however, seems to have been making high-handed and rather scandalous use of his opportunities, and of this fact, doubtless, Caesar was not aware. The overthrow of the Pompeians led of course to confiscations, and Antonius took the opportunity to buy in some desirable properties, notably the villa of Metellus Scipio and the town-house of Pompeius (§§ 62, 64). Cicero says that he never paid for his purchases (§§ 71, 72), and that he was surprised when Caesar demanded payment. He also says that Antonius abused his powers as *Magister Equitum* (§ 62), making a feeble joke thereon. Antonius was certainly hard up at this date, but such a fact was no more unusual at that time than it is now.

Caesar was sole-consul in 45 B.C., and no other curule magistrates were even elected. After Munda, when the last of the Pompeian resistance was broken, it seemed feasible to revert to a more normal form of administration, and Caesar had given Cn. Dolabella reason to hope that he should have the consulship of 44 B.C. When the *comitia* came, however, Dolabella was passed over, and Caesar himself was returned with Antonius as his colleague. Clearly, if there had been any coolness between the two, it was now ended. Dolabella revenged his disappointment by a violent attack on Antonius in the Senate House on New Year's Day (§ 79), and in retaliation Antonius, who was at once augur and consul, publicly declared that he would prevent Dolabella's election as *consul suffectus*, although Caesar (who intended to resign his own consulship before leaving Rome for the East) had given his word that Dolabella should succeed to the vacancy so caused (§ 80). Antonius carried out his threat as far as he could: the *comitia* returned Dolabella, and Antonius thereupon declared the election invalid. Whether or not his veto was to hold good even the Romans did not know. Cicero, himself an augur, says it was illegal, but there was so much of doubt in the matter that the point was down amongst the *agenda* of the Senate (§ 88) on the Ides of March. If

the doubt subsisted then, we cannot hope to solve it now (see notes on §§ 80-84). Its solution was frustrated by the murder of Caesar at the moment when the question was to be raised.

As to the goodness or badness of Caesar there is room for dispute. But whether good or bad, he was undoubtedly a great man; this even Cicero himself confesses in an eloquent eulogy (§ 116). On the other hand, as to his death there are no two opinions: "the foulest murder in all history" is the almost unanimous verdict. Cicero, who had himself received nothing but consideration from the victim, tries in vain to glorify the crime. Philosophy, when its votaries instead of being original philosophers, are mere eclectic dabblers, can and does blind those who indulge in it overmuch. It blinded Cicero and destroyed his moral sense, just as it did that of M. Brutus and others of the conspirators. It is not possible to prove that any one of sixty or more conspirators had been injured by Caesar; many of them owed their all to his indulgence. The arch-conspirator, Brutus, Caesar had treated as his own son. And not one of the murderers belonged to the really great houses of the time, with whom the extinction of the old Republic might legitimately be a grievance. The murder was the outcome of a mistaken philosophy which argued that the old way, however bad, was still the best way: that Rome *must* be a Republic still, as she had been for five hundred years; that if it was glorious to expel a Tarquin, to kill a Cassius and a Maelius, it was glorious to kill Caesar too. Such a creed was the negation of all progress, but progress is stronger than creeds. It was stronger than the *Liberatores*. Caesar represented progress. He saw that the old *régime* was no longer workable, and he tried to replace it with a better. His only fault was that he did not take sufficient pains to hide the completeness of the change. As a man of facts, he lacked sentiment.

§ 7. The leading conspirators were the two Bruti (Marcus and Decimus), C. Cassius, Tillius Cimber, and C. Casca. Their excuse was that Caesar had made himself king: and the substance of the charge was found in the

fact that at the Lupercalia (February 15th) Antonius had publicly offered a regal diadem to Caesar. They assassinated Caesar in the Curia on the Ides (15th) of March. Antonius was not privy to the crime, indeed they feared his interference. Once before, says Cicero, he had been sounded by C. Trebonius at Narbo (§ 34), but without success. He had indeed everything to gain if Caesar lived, everything to lose if Caesar died.

The senators fled in terror on hearing of the murder. Antonius too fled (§ 88) for a time. But he quickly recovered his wits and tried to get possession of all Caesar's papers and treasure. The conspirators, finding to their chagrin that their deed did not at once meet with universal approval, took refuge in the Capitol, and opened negotiations with the leaders of the senatorial party. The Senate met on March 17th, and passed resolutions that the murderers should be amnestied, and that Caesar's *acta*—all that he had done and intended to do—should be regarded as law. The two resolutions were logically incompatible: if the murderers were blameworthy they deserved no amnesty; if blameless, then their victim's *acta* could not be legal. But the senators only sought to temporise. As a guarantee of his good faith Antonius gave his infant son by Fulvia as a hostage to the Liberators in the Capitol (§ 90).

There followed Caesar's obsequies. By command of the Senate the dead man's will was publicly read. It named as heir-in-chief his great-nephew C. Octavius (better known as Augustus); Antonius was amongst the *heredes secundi* (§ 71); and Caesar's park on the north bank of the Tiber was bequeathed to the State, to the people a legacy of 300 sesterces (about £3 *per* man). The knowledge of these facts caused a furious outburst of feeling, of which Antonius took instant advantage. The mob burned Caesar's body in the open Forum upon an extemporized pyre. At least one senator's house (§ 91) was burnt in the riot, and the liberators were compelled to flee for their lives. By way of condoning the effects of his inflammatory rhetoric, Antonius, as consul, moved one or two resolutions of a conciliatory tone: one was that the style of *Dictator* should be henceforth abolished (§ 91); another declared

that no *acta Caesaris* should be taken into account if dating later than March 15th.

But it very soon became evident that Antonius was aiming at the very power from which Caesar had fallen. He took advantage of his position as consul, and of the fact that he had secured all Caesar's papers, to drive a trade in alleged *acta Caesaris*, which he caused to be forged in return for a consideration. The *civitas* was given away, *immunitas* (exemption from taxation) was granted to at least one province (Crete) *en bloc*, preferments and privileges were openly sold, exiles were recalled and pardons provided for all who cared to buy them (§§ 6, 97). Further, to secure to his side the veteran troops whom Caesar had called out for the projected Parthian campaign, he caused an Agrarian Law to be passed, under cover of which he made assignments of the small remnant of *ager publicus* in Campania and at Leontini in Sicily. If Cicero's account be true, he even re-allotted lands which had been already disposed of, and did not hesitate to include his personal friends amongst the recipients (§§ 101, 102). In pursuance of this plan he spent most of April and May in another Italian tour, in which his conduct was marked, according to Cicero, by every form of dissipation and insolence. It was only at the end of May that he returned to Rome (§§ 100, 107).

The Liberators in the interim had disappeared. Those amongst them to whom provincial governorships had been allotted, in accordance with the *acta Caesaris*, withdrew to their respective provinces, D. Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, C. Trebonius to Asia, and L. Tillius Cimber to Bithynia. The two ringleaders M. Brutus and C. Cassius were respectively *praetor urbanus* and *praetor peregrinus* for the current year, but not daring to reappear in Rome, they were fain to receive special permission from the Senate to absent themselves for a time (§ 31). In due course they hoped, at any rate, to take up their respective provincial commands in 43 B.C., viz., Brutus that of Macedonia, and Cassius that of Syria.

The provinces above named were all wealthy, and all of first-class strategic importance. Gallia Cisalpina

commanded the peninsula from the north: Macedonia interrupted communications between Rome and her eastern provinces: Syria, Asia, and Bithynia, commanded the entire eastern frontier and the enormous food resources of Egypt as well. Moreover, the provinces east of the Adriatic had been the chief supporters of Pompeius, and were still in the main devoted to the senatorian, *i.e.* the republican, interest. It was desirable to remove the Liberators from such dangerous positions. Antonius proceeded to disarm them in detail. By means of further forged *acta Caesaris* he obtained a law transferring the Syrian command of Cassius to Dolabella, now acting harmoniously with Antonius as *consul suffectus*; the Macedonian command of M. Brutus he transferred to himself; and to the two disappropriated praetors he offered commissions to control the corn-supply in Crete and in Sicily (§ 31), commissions which gave no excuse for the maintenance of any armed force. Not content with these transparent forgeries, he presently came forward with further proposals, whereby Macedonia was given to his brother C. Antonius, while D. Brutus was ordered to surrender Cisalpine Gaul to M. Antonius personally. That province dominated Italy. It was, moreover, the province from which Caesar had started upon his career of "tyranny." It was plain that Antonius, like Caesar, was aiming at the despotism. Nevertheless the proposals were duly made law, though the Liberators continued to treat them one and all as null and void. An armed collision between them and Antonius was evidently in the immediate future.

§ 8. Cicero had from the outset suspected the designs of Antonius. He had, so he believed, done all he could to rally the senatorial party and encourage them to take a firm attitude against all encroachments. But the task had proved too much for him, and in the early summer he too left Rome, pledging himself, however, to be back in the Senate House on the first day of the New Year. He presently resolved to start for Greece, and actually embarked with that purpose; but rough weather frustrated his purpose—he was a bad sailor—and landing again, he discarded all his plans and returned to Rome on the last

day of August. He had been informed that Antonius had abandoned his dangerous courses and was all readiness to act in cordial unison with the Senate. But on reaching Rome he was disgusted to learn that Antonius' principal motion amongst the *agenda* for the day following (September 1st) was to the effect that yet further tribute should be paid to Caesar's memory, by adding to all *supplicationes* (days set apart for public prayer) an extra day in his honour. Cicero refrained from attending the House, and Antonius, who knew that he was in Rome and was impatient to learn what course he intended to adopt, used some violent expressions about Cicero's indefinite behaviour. On the next day, Cicero appeared in the House and delivered his *First Philippic*—an attempt to explain away his own uncertainty of movement, and a moderate, but vigorous complaint against Antonius' general conduct. By his own account he was anxious for a complete reconciliation only. Antonius was not present, but in due course he heard of the matter of the speech. On September 19th he banished any further illusions which Cicero may have entertained, by delivering in the Senate a virulent attack on Cicero. Cicero in his turn was absent from the House on this occasion; but he too soon knew what had been said, and accepting the gage which the other had flung down, he replied in the *Second Philippic*—an invective which prudence prevented him from actually delivering, although he caused it to be published as his reply to Antonius' attack. The feud thus begun was only terminated by the death of Cicero on December 7th, 43 B.C., when he fell a victim to the infamous proscription by which the Second Triumvirate—Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavianus Caesar—rid themselves of their several enemies. In the interval he delivered twelve other *Philippics*—fourteen in all—aimed more or less directly at Antonius; but it was to the *Second Philippic* that he owed his death. His head and hands were nailed up upon the *Rostra* in the Forum as a warning to all against further use—or abuse—of the old-fashioned republican liberty of speech.

For the subsequent career of M. Antonius, see the Index, s.r. ANTONIUS.

§ 10. Chronological Table.

B.C.

- 106. Birth of Cicero at Arpinum.
- 102. Birth of C. Julius Caesar.
- 90-88. The Social War. Sulla and Cicero come into notice.
- 88. First Proscription. Marius and Cinna overthrow the Senatorial government.
- 82. Sulla re-enters Rome. Second Proscription and Restoration of the Senate. Sulla rules as Dictator until 79 B.C., when he resigns, dying in the year following.
- 91. First speech of Cicero (*Pro Quinctio*).
- 75. Cicero Quaestor of Lilybaeum.
- 70. Downfall of the restored Senate, before the joint attack of Pompeius and Crassus. The revolution is materially aided by the exposure of Senatorial misgovernment made by Cicero in his prosecution of Verres for extortion in Sicily.
- 69. Cicero Aedile.
- 66. Cicero Praetor. Pompeius assumes the command against Mithradates.
- 63. Cicero Consul. His colleague is C. Antonius, uncle of Marcus. Conspiracy of Catilina. Five of the ringleaders are executed in December. Catilina, escaping from Rome, falls in the battle of Pistoria, January, 62 B.C. Caesar Pontifex Maximus.
- 62. Caesar Praetor. Clodius profanes the Mysteries.
- 60. First Triumvirate (Caesar, Pompeius, Crassus).
- 59. Caesar Consul. Assignment of the *Ager Campanus*.
- 58. Caesar assumes command in Gaul. Banishment of Cicero by Clodius, now Tribune.
- 57. Return of Cicero by influence of Pompeius (August).
- 56. Conference of Luca, and renewal of the First Triumvirate. Collapse of Cicero's attempt to reassert the authority of the Senate. Gabinius restores Ptolemy XI. to the throne of Egypt.
- 55. Pompeius and Crassus consuls. Caesar's command

- B.C. in Gaul renewed for five years more. Antonius joins Caesar in Gaul.
53. Antonius Quaestor. Clodius and Milo rule the streets.
52. Murder of Clodius by Milo. Pompeius, sole consul, commences to quarrel with Caesar. Last campaign of Caesar in Gaul.
51. Cicero governor of Cilicia.
49. Antonius and Cassius tribunes. Outbreak of the Civil War. Pompeius abandons Italy. Siege of Massilia and battle of Ilerda.
48. Siege of Dyrrhachium and battle of Pharsalus. Death of Pompeius at Alexandria. The Alexandrine War. Caesar Dictator, Antonius his Master of Horse.
47. End of Alexandrine War. Battle of Ziera and deposition of Deiotarus. Coolness between Caesar and Antonius.
46. Battle of Thapsus and death of Cato.
45. Battle of Munda and end of the Civil War.
44. Caesar and Antonius consuls. At the Lupercalia (February 15th) Antonius offers the crown to Caesar. Murder of Caesar on Ides of March (15th). Dolabella consul-suffect. Decree of Amnesty, March 17th. The Liberators leave Rome. Antonius practically master of Rome. Cicero leaves Italy, but returns, August 30th. Antonius attacks Cicero in Senate House, September 1st. Cicero replies in the First Philippic, September 2nd. Second attack of Antonius, September 19th. The Second Philippic purports to be Cicero's answer upon the same date. Antonius marches into Cisalpine Gaul.
43. Siege of Mutina, and deaths of the consuls Hirtius and Pansa. Octavianus consul-suffect. He allies himself with Antonius and Lepidus in the Second Triumvirate. Third Proscription and murder of Cicero.
42. Battle of Philippi, death of M. Brutus and Cassius, and end of the Republican party.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA.

I. 1. Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, 1
ut nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis qui
non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec
vero necesse est quemquam a me nominari: vobiscum
ipsi recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus quam 5
optarem dederunt: te miror, Antoni, quorum facta
imitere, eorum exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in
aliis minus mirabar; nemo enim illorum inimicus mihi
fuit voluntarius, omnes a me rei publicae causa lacessiti.
Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, 10
furiosior quam Clodius viderere, ultro me maledictis
laccessisti, tuamque a me alienationem commendationem
tibi ad impios cives fore putavisti. 2. Quid putem? Con-
temptumne me? non video, nec in vita nec in gratia
nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii 15
quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime
de me detrahi posse credidit? Qui ordo clarissimis
civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis,
mihi uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit
contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium: quid 20
enim plenius, quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et
contra Antonium dicere? Illud profecto: non existi-
mavit sui similibus probari posse se esse hostem patriae,

1 nisi mihi esset inimicus. 3. Cui priusquam de ceteris
25 rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse
criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen iudico,
pauca dicam.

2 II. Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse
questus est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro
familiari et necessario? Non venirem contra gratiam
non virtutis spe sed aetatis flore collectam? Non veni-
5 rem contra iniuriam, quam isto intercessoris iniquissimi
beneficio obtinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc ideo
commemoratum a te puto, ut te infimo ordini commen-
dares, cum omnes te recordarentur libertini generum
et liberos tuos nepotes libertini hominis fuisse.

10 At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras—nam ita
dixisti—; domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id
fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consu-
luisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per
C. Curionem facere licuisset. 4. Auguratus petitionem

15 mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam!
O impudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim tempore me
augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et
Q. Hortensius nominaverunt—nec enim licebat a
pluribus nominari—tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo

20 modo nisi eversa re publica fore incolumem putabas.
Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in
Italia C. Curio non esset? Aut tum, cum es factus,
unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? Cuius etiam
familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis

3 studiosi fuissent. III. 5. At beneficio sum tuo usus.
Quo? quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras,
semper prae me tuli: malui me tibi debere confiteri
quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis gratus videri.

5 Sed quo beneficio? Quod me Brundisii non occideris?
Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas,

detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvum esse 3
voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres?
fac potuisses. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, bene-
ficio latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint iis se 10
dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset
beneficium, nunquam, qui illum interfecerunt a quo
erant conservati, quos tu clarissimos viros soles
appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale
autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario 15
scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri
debit non interfectum me a te, quam miserum te id
impune facere potuisse. 6. Sed sit beneficium, quando-
quidem maius accipi a latrone nullum potuit; in quo
potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicae 20
queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa
querella, misera quidem et luctuosa sed mihi pro hoc
gradu, in quo me senatus populusque Romanus
collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum
contumelia, quid non moderate, quid non amice? 25
Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio
querentem abstinere maledictis, praesertim cum tu
reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae
turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges
eas, quae nunquam promulgatae essent, et de te et 30
a te latas confiterere, cum auspicia augur, interces-
sionem consul sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus
armatis, cum omnes impuritates pudica in domo cottidie
susciperes, vino lustrisque confectus. 7. At ego, tam-
quam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum 35
multae et sane magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore
nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine
nihil dixi: itaque hodie perficiam, ut intellegat quan-
tum a me beneficium tum acceperit. IV. At etiam 4
litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo et

4 humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus: quis enim unquam qui paulum modo bonam consuetudinem
5 nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis, quae prolata si sint, inepta
10 videantur! Quam multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda? 8. Sit hoc inhumanitatis tuae: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Mustelae tamen Seio et Tironi Numisio videris? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in
15 conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus: —sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me unquam ad te istas litteras misisse? quo me teste convincas? an chirographo—in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam—?
20 qui possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat. 9. Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quam id obicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progredi
25 non possit qui obiecerit? at ego non nego, teque in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae? omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in his litteris non
30 male existimem, quod scribam tamquam ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam: quibus petis ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exilio reducere, adiurasque
35 id te invito me non esse facturum; idque a me impe- trasti: quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae,

quem neque auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio 4
populi Romani neque leges ullae possent coercere?
10. Verum tamen quid erat quod me rogares, si erat
is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris lege reductus? Sed vide- 40
licet meam gratiam voluit esse in quo ne ipsius quidem
ulla esse poterat lege lata.

V. Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid 5
et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a
vobis, ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse
efficiam, ut contra illum cum dicam, attente audiat. Simul
illud oro, si meam cum in omni vita tum in 5
dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, ne
me hodie, eum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum
esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille
quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul,
vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel 10
quod ita factus est; ego sine ulla controversia consul-
laris. 11. Ut igitur intellexeretis qualem ipse se
consulem profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum.
Qui consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester
fuit: quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi 15
ex huius ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec
tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum
consilio sapientiaque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare?
Quis autem meum consulatum praeter te Publiumque
Clodium qui vituperaret inventus est? Cuius quidem 20
tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id domus
 tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale. 12. Non
placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P.
Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis
consularibus, qui proxime est mortuus; placuit Q. 25
Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas;
placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C.
Curioni, C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L.

5 Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenæ, qui tum
30 erant consules designati; placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni, qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum quod te consulem non vidit; maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit, qui ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, complexus et gratulans
35 meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo qui mihi non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem
6 publicam referret acceptam. VI. 13. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris res publica orbata est veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio
5 summaque prudentia, rebus iis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque cunctus adsensus est; qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. 14. L.
10 Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suæ virum, vitricum tuum! hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum totiusque vitæ debuisses habere, vitrici te similem quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego
15 alienus consiliis consul usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid ad eum unquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert? di immortales! ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam dies natales audiendi sunt. 15. Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? dat nataliciam in hortis.
20 Cui? neminem nominabo: putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam! O impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem singularem tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de

re publica nihil referas, referas ad eos, qui suam rem 25
nullam habent, tuam exhauriunt? VII. Tuus videlicet 7
salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem
cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere
ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam
florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, consulebam, tu 5
homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocavisti? 16. At
etiam ausus es—quid autem est quod tu non audeas?
—clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum
servorum armatorum fuisse: ut illa, credo, nefaria
senatus consulta fierent, vim adferebam senatui. O 10
miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt—nihil enim boni
nosti—sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam impudenter
loquare! quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te
adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem
esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, 15
in clivo Capitolino non fuit, quis nomen non dedit?
Quamquam nec scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina
illorum capere potuerunt. 17. Etenim cum homines
nefarii de patriae parricidio confiterentur, consciorum
indiciis, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti, se 20
urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italiam,
delere rem publicam consensisse, quis esset qui ad
salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur?
Praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus ha-
beret ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem 25
quod illis contigisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici
sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem
Clodius dixit unquam: cui quia iure inimicus
fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis eum esse superatum.
18. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in me- 30
moriā nostram te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? an
verebare ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam
improbū evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

8 VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime diiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum, quanta tibi tecum esset contentio. Vitri-
5 cum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena adfectum querebare : ita, quod proprie meum est, laudasti ; quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti : nam comprehensio sontium mea, animadversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se ; eos,
10 apud quos dicit, vituperari. 19. Iam illud cuius est non dico audaciae—cupit enim se audacem—, sed, quod minime volt, stultitiae, qua vincit omnis, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati ? Cum in hac cella Concordiae, di immortales, in
15 qua me consule salutare sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines collocati stent ? Accusa senatum, accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit, accusa omnes ordines, omnes cives, dum confiteare hunc ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab
20 Ityracis circumsederi. Haec tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed quia tantam rerum repugnantiam non vides ; nihil profecto sapis ! Quid est enim dementius quam, cum rei publicae perniciosa arma ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria ? 20. At etiam quodam
25 loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di boni, non decebat ! in quo est tua culpa non nulla ; aliquid enim salis a mimia uxore trahere potuisti. “Cedant arma togae.” Quid ? tum nonne cesserunt ? at postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaeramus igitur utrum melius
30 fuerit, libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma, an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo : tantum dicam breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras nosse, me nec rei publicae nec amicis unquam defuisse et tamen omni

genere monimentorum meorum perfecisse ut meae 8
vigiliae meaeque litterae et iuventuti utilitatis et 36
nomini Romano laudis aliquid adferrent. Sed haec
non huius temporis: maiora videamus.

IX. 21. P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse 9
dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset,
cum tu illum in foro inspectante populo Romano gladio
insecutus es negotiumque transecessisses, nisi se ille in
scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset iisque oppilatis 5
impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse
me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni
ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit
quam quisquam eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego
suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse rei 10
publicae sine suasore non posset. At laetatus sum.
Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum
tristem esse oportebat? 22. Quamquam de morte Clodii
fuit quaestio—non satis prudenter illa quidem con-
stituta; quid enim attinebat nova lege quaeri de eo, qui 15
hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio con-
stituta? Quaesitum est tamen. Quod igitur, cum res
agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis post tu es
inventus qui diceres?

23. Quod vero dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, 20
opera mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum
ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse natum,
in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est,
temporibus errasti. X. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo 10
cive, consule nihil praetermisi, quantum facere enitique
potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione avoca-
rem; in quo Caesar felicius fuit: ipse enim Pompeium
a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam se 5
totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab
eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere

- 10 impudentis. 24. Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim; ea
10 velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii imperium Caesari prorogaret; alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio haberetur: quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias nunquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnes et
15 suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset, seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium, pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: "Utinam, Pompei, cum
20 Caesare societatem aut nunquam coisses aut nunquam diremisses! Fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae." Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt; quae si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.
- 11 XI. 25. Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesarem meo consilio interfectum. Iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod turpissimum est, praevaricatorem mihi adposuisse videar, qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret,
5 sed etiam alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit? Cuius autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum? Occultatum dico? Cuius non statim divulgatum? Citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos, ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur,
10 cum consilii non fuissent, quam ut quisquam celari vellet qui fuisset. 26. Quam veri simile porro est in tot hominibus partim obscuris partim adolescentibus neminem occultantibus meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum
15 uterque L. Bruti imaginem cottidie videret, alter etiam

Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus ab alienis potius 11
 consilium peterent quam a suis et foris potius quam
 domo? Quid? C. Cassius, in ea familia natus, quae
 non modo dominatum sed ne potentiam quidem cuius- 20
 quam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit:
 qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia
 ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam
 ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam naves
 appulisset. 27. Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, 25
 clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors, non spoliatio dig-
 nitatis ad recuperandam libertatem, sed mea auctoritas
 excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? Cui ne
 suadere quidem ausus essem; quo etiam maiorem ei res
 publica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani 30
 unius amicitiae praeposuit depulsorque dominatus quam
 particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est
 auctorem secutus? Quem ego magis fecisse illam rem
 sum admiratus quam facturum putavi, admiratus autem
 ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor 35
 patriae fuisset. Quid? duos Servilios—Cascas dicam
 an Ahalas?—et hos auctoritate mea censes excitatos
 potius quam caritate rei publicae? Longum est per-
 sequi ceteros, idque rei publicae praeclarum, fuisse
 tam multos, ipsis gloriosum. XII. 28. At quem 12
 ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus recordamini.
 “Caesare interfecto” inquit “statim eruentum alte ex-
 tollens Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclama-
 vit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus.” Cur 5
 mihi potissimum? Quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa
 fuerit appellandi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimi-
 lem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testa-
 tus est se aemulum mearum laudium extitisse. 29. Tu
 autem, omnium stultissime, non intellegis, si, id quod 10
 me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem crimen sit, etiam

12 laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? Quid enim
interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? Aut quid
refert utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum? Equis
15 est igitur exceptis eis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui
illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit? Omnes
ergo in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis
fuit, Caesarem occiderunt: aliis consilium, aliis animus,
aliis occasio defuit; voluntas nemini. 30. Sed stuporem
20 hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite; sic enim dixit:
“Brutus quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum
pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit: ex quo intellegi
debet eum conscium fuisse.” Ergo ego sceleratus appel-
lor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris; ille, qui
25 stillantem prae se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa
nominatur? Esto; sit in verbis tuis hic stupor: quanto
in rebus sententiisque maior! Constitue hoc, consul,
aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassii, Cn. Domitii, C. Tre-
bonii, reliquorum quam velis esse causam; edormi crapu-
30 lam, inquam, et exhalare. An faces admovendae sunt quae
excitent tantae causae indormientem? Nunquamne
intelleges statuendum tibi esse utrum illi, qui istam
rem gesserunt, homicidae sint an vindices libertatis?
13 XIII. 31. Attende enim paulisper cogitationemque so-
brii hominis punctum temporis suscipe. Ego, qui sum
illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius,
nego quicquam esse medium: confiteor eos, nisi libera-
5 tres populi Romani conservatoresque rei publicae sint,
plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam
parricidas esse, siquidem est atrocius patriae parentem
quam suum occidere: tu homo sapiens et considerate,
quid dicis? Si parricidas, cur honoris causa a te sunt
10 et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum semper
appellati? Cur M. Brutus referente te legibus est solu-
tus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies afuisset? cur ludi

Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur 13
provinciae Bruto, Cassio datae? cur quaestores additi?
cur legatorum numerus auctus? atqui haec acta per 15
te; non igitur homicidas. Sequitur ut liberatores tuo
iudicio, quandoquidem tertium nihil potest esse. 32.
Quid est? num conturbo te? non enim fortasse satis,
quae diiunctius dicuntur, intellegis. Sed tamen haec
summa est conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te 20
liberati sunt, ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimos
iudicatos. Itaque iam retexo orationem meam: scribam
ad illos, ut, si qui forte quod a te mihi obiectum est
quaerent sitne verum, ne cui negent; etenim vereor ne
aut celatum me illis ipsis non honestum aut invitatum 25
refugisse mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res unquam,
pro sancte Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe sed in
omnibus terris est gesta maior, quae gloriosior, quae
commendatior hominum memoriae sempiternae? In
huius me tu consilii societatem tamquam in equum 30
Troianum cum principibus includis. 33. Non recuso,
ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis: tanta enim res
est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare,
cum laude non comparem. Quid enim beatius illis,
quos tu expulsos a te praedicas et relegatos? Qui 35
locus est aut tam desertus aut tam inhumanus
qui illos, cum accesserint, non adfari atque adpetere
videatur? Qui homines tam agrestes qui se, cum eos
aspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent?
Quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae 40
litterae reperientur quae eorum gloriam non immor-
talitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu vero ascribe me
talem in numerum. XIV. 34. Sed unam rem vereor 14
ne non probes: si enim in iis fuisset, non solum regem
sed etiam regnum de re publica sustulissem; et, si meus
stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, mihi crede non solum unum

- 14 actum sed totam fabulam confecissem. Quamquam si
6 interfici Caesarem voluisse crimen est, vide, quaeso,
Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc
consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob
eius consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar, tum
10 te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem—vide quam
tecum agam non inimice—quod bene cogitasti aliquando,
laudo; quod non indicasti, gratias ago; quod non fecisti,
ignosco: virum res illa quaerebat. 35. Quodsi te in
iudicium quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, cui
15 bono fuerit, vide, quaeso, ne haereas: quamquam illud
quidem fuit, ut tute dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servire
nolebant, tibi tamen praecipue, qui non modo non
servis sed etiam regnas; qui maximo te aere alieno ad
aodem Opis liberavisti; qui per easdem tabulas in-
20 numerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti; ad quem e domo
Caesaris tam multa delata sunt; cuius domi quaes-
tuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et chiro-
graphorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum,
vectigalium flagitiosissimae nundinae. 36. Etenim quae
25 res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter mortem Caesaris
subvenire potuisset? Nescio quid conturbatus esse
videris: num quid subtimes ne ad te hoc crimen
pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo credet
unquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri;
30 habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res
publica auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse
non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam
reliquis respondendum est.
- 15 XV. 37. Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne
tempus obiecisti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi,
meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie
egeres, nos liberi essemus, res publica non tot duces et
5 exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim me, cum ea, quae

acciderunt, providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, 15
quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent.
Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam,
vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam, brevi
tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus 10
ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae
cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus,
dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret: illos ego praes-
tantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam,
tot consulares, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, 15
omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum
optimorum civium exercitus; qui si viverent, quamvis
iniqua condicione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum
civibus bello civili utilior videbatur—rem publicam
hodie teneremus. 38. Quae sententia si valuisset ac 20
non ii maxime mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe
victoriae elati obstitissent, ut alia omittam, tu certe
nunquam in hoc ordine vel potius nunquam in hac urbe
mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me
alienabat oratio mea. An ille quemquam plus dilexit, 25
cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit saepius?
Quod quidem erat magnum, de summa re publica
dissentientes in eadem consuetudine amicitiae per-
manere. Ego quid ille et contra ille quid ego sentirem
et spectarem videbat: ego incolumitati civium pri- 30
mum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille praesenti
dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uter-
que quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra
dissensio.

39. Quid vero ille singularis vir ac paene divinus 35
de me senserit sciunt qui eum de Pharsalia fuga
Paphum prosecuti sunt: nunquam ab eo mentio
de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii,
cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora.

15 Et eius viri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me
41 amicum, te sectorem esse fateare?

16 XVI. Sed omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu
nimium felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebo,
quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant
quidem illa castra plena curae; verum tamen
5 homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si
modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur.
Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem
iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse
moderatum.

10 40. Hereditates mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc
tuum verum crimen esset! Plures amici mei et neces-
sarii viverent. Sed qui istuc tibi venit in mentem?
Ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiens acceptum here-
ditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere fateor
15 feliciorem esse te: me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem,
ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor
iungeretur; te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam, L. Rubrius
Casinas fecit heredem. 41. Et quidem vide quam te
amarit is, qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras: fratris filium
20 praeterit; Q. Fufii, honestissimi equitis Romani sui que
amicissimi, quem palam heredem semper factitarat,
ne nominat quidem: te, quem nunquam viderat aut
certe nunquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi
dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit,
25 qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. 'Nihil scio'
inquies 'nisi quae praedia habuerit.' Is igitur fratrem
exheredans te faciebat heredem. In multas praeterea
pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eiectis veris here-
dibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit. 42. Quamquam
30 hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum
ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non
adisses.

XVII. Haec ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot 17
 dies in aliena villa declamasti? Quamquam tu quidem,
 ut tui familiarissimi dictitant, vini exhalandi, non
 ingenii acuendi causa declamas. At vero adhibes ioci
 causa magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum 5
 rhetorem, cui concessisti ut in te quae vellet diceret,
 salsum omnino hominem, sed materia facilis est in te
 et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem quid intersit inter
 te et avum tuum: ille sensim dicebat quod causae pro-
 ddeset; tu cursim dicis aliena. 43. At quanta merces 10
 rhetori data est! Audite, audite, patres conscripti, et
 cognoscite rei publicae volnera duo milia iugerum
 campi Leontini Sexto Clodio rhetori adsignasti et
 quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mercede
 nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacis- 15
 sime, ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco
 et de Leontino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros
 ereptos rei publicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit.
 Iam enim quoniam criminibus eius satis respondi, de
 ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda 20
 sunt. nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decer-
 tandum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam: quam
 facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorum-
 que largitur.

XVIII. 44. Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? 18
 Sic opinor; a principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria
 praetextatum te decoxisse? "Patris" inquires "ista
 culpa est." Concedo; etenim est pietatis plena defensio.
 Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod sedisti in quattuor- 5
 decim ordinibus, cum esset lege Roscia decoctoribus
 certus locus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio, non suo,
 decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem
 togam reddidisti.

Sed cito Curio intervenit. 45. Nemo unquam 10

- 18 puer tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit, quotiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? Cum tu tamen nocte socia, cogente mercede, per tegulas
15 demitterere. Quae flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio maerens iacebat in lecto, filius se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrimans te mihi commendabat, orabat
20 ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens peteret, defenderem; tantum enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum. 46. Quo tempore ego quanta
25 mala florentissimae familiae sedavi vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi, ut aes alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adulescentem, summa spe et animi et ingenii praeditum, rei familiaris facultatibus, eumque non modo tua familiaritate sed etiam congressione patrio iure et
30 potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum per me acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses?
- 19 XIX. 47. Sed iam flagitia omittamus: sunt quaedam, quae honeste non possum dicere; tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quae a verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitae cursum videte; quem
5 quidem celeriter perstringam: ad haec enim, quae in civili bello, in maximis rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea, quae cottidie facit, festinat animus; quae peto, ut, quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audiat. Debet enim talibus in
10 rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum sed etiam recordatio; etsi incidamus, opinor, media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.

48. Intinus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me 19
beneficia commemorat, eius omnium incendiorum fax;
cuius etiam domi iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid 15
dicam ipse optime intellegit. Inde iter Alexandream
contra senatus auctoritatem, contra rem publicam et
religiones; sed habebat ducem Gabinium, quicum
quidvis rectissime facere posset. Qui tum inde reditus
aut qualis? Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Aegypto 20
quam domum. Quae autem domus? suam enim quis-
que domum tum obtinebat nec erat usquam tua.
Domum dico? quid erat in terris ubi in tuo pedem
poneres praeter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis tam-
quam Sisaponem tenebas? XX. 49. Venisti e Gallia 20
ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere te prius ad
parentem tuam venisse quam ad me. Acceperam iam
ante Caesaris litteras, ut mihi satis fieri paterer a te;
itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia. Postea 5
sum cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaes-
turae; quo quidem tempore P. Clodium approbante
populo Romano in foro es conatus occidere, cumque
eam rem tua sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen
ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum inter- 10
fecisses, unquam mihi pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse
facturum. In quo demiror cur Milonem impulsu meo
rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultro mihi idem illud
deferentem nunquam sim adhortatus; quoniam, si in
eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam referri 15
malebam quam ad meam gratiam. 50. Quaestor es
factus: deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine sorte,
sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi. Id enim unum in
terrīs egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae
rationibus perflugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum et illius 20
largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses, si hoc est
explere, exhaurire quod statim effundas, advolasti egens

- 20 ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.
- 21 XXI. Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea quae ipse in se atque in domesticum decus impure et intemperanter, sed quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est in universam rem publicam, impie ac nefarie fecerit: ab huius enim
5 scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. 51. Nam cum L. Lentulo C. Marcello consulibus Kalendis Ianuariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetur, ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis, tum iste venditum atque emancipa-
10 tum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei subiecit securi, qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus et quidem incolumis, nondum tot luminibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more
15 maiorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae iudicatus? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen
20 exstabit—quod quidem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum—, tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur. 52. Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus adulescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei publicae prohibuisti, neque semel sed saepius, neque tu
25 tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem agebatur nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles? Cum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia
30 movere potuisset, tum illud multis rebus ante temptatis necessario tibi vulnus inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo: (53) tum contra te dedit

arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potes- 21
tatibus; quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Caesaris 34
contulisses. XXII. 53. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, 22
princeps C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam
belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim
aliud ille dicebat, quam causam sui dementissimi con-
sili et facti adferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, 5
ius tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset
Antonius? omitto quam haec falsa, quam levia, prae-
sertim cum omnino nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse
possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de
Caesare: tibi certe confitendum est causam perniciosis- 10
simi belli persona tua constitisse. 54. O miserum te, si
haec intellegis, miseriorem, si non intellegis hoc litteris
mandari, hoc memoriae prodi, huius rei ne posteritatem
quidem omnium saeculorum unquam immemorem fore,
consules ex Italia expulsos, cumque iis Cn. Pompeium, 15
quod imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit,
omnes consulares, qui per valetudinem exsequi cladem
illam fugamque potuissent, praetores, praetorios, tri-
bunos plebi, magnam partem senatus, omnem subolem
iuventutis, uno verbo rem publicam expulsam atque 20
exterminatam suis sedibus! 55. Ut igitur in semini-
bus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosis-
simi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tris exercitus populi
Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius; desideratis
clarissimos cives: eos quoque vobis eripuit Antonius; 25
auctoritas huius ordinis adflicta est: adflixit Antonius;
omnia denique quae postea vidimus—quid autem mali
non vidimus? —, si recte ratiocinabimur, uni accepta
referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Troianis, sic iste huic
rei publicae causa pestis atque exitii fuit. Reli- 30
quae partes tribunatus principii similes: omnia per-
fecit, quae senatus salva re publica ne fieri possent

33 prospexerat ; cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite.

23 XXIII: 56. Restituebat multos calamitosos: in iis
patruī nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnes? Si
misericors, cur non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros: Lici-
nium Denticulum de alea condemnatum, collusorem
5 suum, restituit, quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non
liceret; scilicet ut, quod in alea perdiderat, beneficio
legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti rationem populo Ro-
mano cur eum restitui oporteret? Absentem, credo, in
reos relatum; rem indicta causa iudicatam; nullum
10 fuisse de alea lege iudicium; vi oppressum et armis;
postremo, quod de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudici-
um esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus et re
publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem; ego tamen,
quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihilo est, ita igno-
15 scerem: hominem omnium nequissimum, qui non
dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege quae est de alea
condemnatum qui in integrum restituit, is non aper-
tissime studium suum ipse profitetur? 57. In eodem
vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam proficiscens
20 huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit eius
peragratio coloniarum, lustratio municipiorum! Scio
me in rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari
eaeque, quae dico dicturusque sum, notiora esse omnibus,
qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, qui non fui:
25 notabo tamen singulas res, etsi nullo modo poterit
oratio mea satis facere vestrae scientiae. Etenim quod
unquam in terris tantum flagitium exstitisse auditum
24 est, tantam turpitudinem, tantum dedecus? XXIV.
58. Vehebatur in essedo tribunus plebi; lictores laureati
antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur,
quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti, obviam
necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine,
5 sed Volumniam consalutabant. Sequebatur raeda cum

lenonibus, comites nequissimi; reiecta mater amicam 24
 impuri filii tamquam nurum sequebatur. O miserae
 mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum
 iste vestigiis omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias,
 totam denique Italiam impressit. 10

59. Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti,
 difficilis est sane reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in
 bello est; saturavit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui
 civium; felix fuit, si potest ulla in scelere esse felicitas.
 Sed quoniam veteranis cautum esse volumus, quam- 15
 quam dissimilis est militum causa et tua—illi secuti
 sunt, tu quaesisti ducem—, tamen, ne apud illos me in
 invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor e
 Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi
 me non occidisti: magnum beneficium! potuisse enim 20
 fateor. Quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum
 fuerunt, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. 60. Tanta
 est enim caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus
 sanctus essem, quod eam a me servatam esse meminis-
 sent. Sed fac id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, 25
 meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta:
 licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium
 sic tueri, ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec ausurum
 viderem? XXV. 61. Venisti Brundisium, in sinum 25
 quidem et in complexum tuae mimulae. Quid est?
 Num mentior? Quam miserum est id negare non posse,
 quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te municipiorum
 non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? Quis enim 5
 miles fuit qui Brundisii illam non viderit? Quis qui
 nescierit venisse eam tibi tot dierum iter obviam gratu-
 latum? Quis qui non indoluerit tam sero se quam
 nequam hominem secutus esset cognoscere? 62. Italiae
 rursus percursatio eadem comite mima; in oppida 10
 militum crudelis et misera deductio; in urbe auri,

25 argenti maximeque vini foeda direptio. Accessit ut
 Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandriae, beneficio
 amicorum eius magister equitum constitueretur. Tum
 15 existimavit se suo iure cum Hippiā vivere et equos
 vectigales Sergio mimo tradere; tum sibi non hanc,
 quam nunc male tuctur, sed M. Pisonis domum ubi
 habitaret legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid
 rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid
 20 creptas proferam? Cogebat egestas; quo se verteret
 non habebat: nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L.
 Turselio hereditas venerat; nondum in Cn. Pompei
 locum multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus
 heres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut
 25 tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

63. Sed haec, quae robustioris improbitatis sunt,
 omittamus: loquamur potius de nequissimo genere
 levitatis. Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladia-
 toria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini in Hippiā
 30 nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi
 Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo
 visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! si inter cenam in ipsis
 tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non
 turpe duceret? In coetu vero populi Romani negotium
 35 publicum gerens magister equitum, cui ructare turpe
 esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus
 gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed haec
 ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splen-
 didiora.

26 XXVI. 64. Caesar Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi
 quidem videbatur: mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae
 sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro
 aede Iovis Statoris bona subiecta Cn. Pompei—miserum
 5 me! Consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus haeret
 animo dolor—bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei Magni voci

acerbissimae subiecta praeconis. Una in illa re 26
servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit: servientibusque
animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen
populi Romani liber fuit. Expectantibus omnibus 10
quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam dis homi-
nibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet
accedere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, prae-
sertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam qui alia
omnia auderent: unus inventus est qui id auderet, quod 15
omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. 65. Tantus
igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus
furor, ut primum cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde
cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano,
non detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes 20
homines et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam
insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas,
cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris
gentibus, iustitia carior! XXVII. In eius igitur viri 27
copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio
persona de mimo modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut
est apud poëtam nescio quem, "male parta male
dilabuntur." 66. Incredibile ac simile portenti est, 5
quonam modo illa tam multa quam paucis non dico
mensibus sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus
fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis,
multa et lauta supellex et magnifica multis locis, non
illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis: 10
horum paucis diebus nihil erat. 67. Quae Charybdis
tam vorax? Charybdim dico? Quae si fuit, animal
unum fuit: Oceanus, me Dius Fidius, vix videtur tot
res tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam
cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil 15
obsignatum, nihil scriptum; apothecae totae nequissi-
mis hominibus condonabantur; alia mimi rapiebant,

27 alia mimae; domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena
ebriorum; totos dies potabatur atque id locis pluribus;
20 suggerebantur etiam saepe—non enim semper iste
felix—damna aleatoria; conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peri-
stromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres.
Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse
consumpta: non modo unius patrimonium quamvis
25 amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna celeriter tanta
nequitia devorare potuisset. At idem aedes etiam et
hortos. 68. O audaciam immanem! Tu etiam ingredi
illam domum ausus es, tu illud sanctissimum linen
intrare, tu illarum aedium dis penatibus os impuris-
30 sinum ostendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo
aspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis praeterire, hac te
in domo tam diu deversari non pudet? In qua, quamvis
nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse iucundum.

28 XXVIII. An tu illa in vestibulo rostra cum as-
pexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest:
quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et
te et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te unquam neque vigi-
5 lantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere:
necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, vinulentus et furens, cum
tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de
somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem. 69. Me
quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum.

10 Quid enim unquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum,
quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina?
Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, sicuti seitis, cum
foris clarus tum domi admirandus, neque rebus externis
magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis. Huius in
15 aedibus pro cubieulis stabula, pro conclavibus popinae
sunt. Etsi iam negat. Nolite quaerere; frugi factus
est: mimulam suam suas res sibi habere iussit, ex
duodecim tabulis claves ademit, exegit. Quam porro

spectatus civis, quam probatus! Cuius ex omni vita 28
nihil est honestius quam quod cum mima fecit divortium. 20
70. At quam crebro usurpat: "et consul et Antonius!"
Hoc est dicere, et consul et impudicissimus, et consul et
homo nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius?
Nam si dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset,
credo, aliquando avus tuus se et consulem et Antonium: 25
nunquam dixit; dixisset etiam collega meus, patruus
tuus, nisi si tu es solus Antonius. Sed omitto ea peccata,
quae non sunt earum partium propria, quibus tu rem
publicam vexavisti: ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est
ad civile bellum, quod natum, conflatum, susceptum 30
opera tua est; cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam
tum propter libidines defuisti. XXIX. 71. Gustaras 29
civilem sanguinem vel potius exorbueras; fueras
in acie Pharsalica antesignanus; L. Domitium, claris-
simum et nobilissimum virum, occideras, multosque
praeterea, qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar, 5
ut nonnullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime per-
secutus trucidaras: quibus rebus tantis talibus gestis
quid fuit causae cur in Africam Caesarem non
sequerere, cum praesertim belli pars tanta restaret?
Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Caesarem post eius ex 10
Africa reditum obtinuisti? Quo numero fuisti? Cuius
tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister
equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae
socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es
de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione 15
debebas. 72. Primo respondisti plane ferociter, et, ne
omnia videar contra te, propemodum aequa et iusta
dicebas: "a me C. Caesar pecuniam? Cur potius quam
ego ab illo? An sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem:
ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli, ego leges perni- 20
ciosas rogavi, ego arma contra consules imperatoresque

29 populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli viciit? Quorum facinus
25 est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis?" Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat.
73. Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedes tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum! Tantam esse
30 tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat quod qui auctionaretur posset suum dicere! Auctionis vero miserabilis aspectus: vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa; eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa collisa,
35 sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus quicquam esse ex illis reliqui quod videre possemus. 74. Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubrii decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo; quo se verteret non habebat. Quin iis ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab
40 isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica: de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem
45 tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?
30 XXX. 75. Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam; sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni, aut, cum suscepisses,
5 defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania: omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella; in Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem; sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda

constantia: tu vero quid es? Cn. Pompei liberi 30
 tum primum patriam repetebant—esto: fuerit haec
 partium causa communis—; repetebant praeterea deos
 patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quae
 cuncta tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ii,
 quorum erant legibus,—etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid 15
 potest esse aequi?—tamen quem erat aequissimum
 contra Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare? quem? te sec-
 torem. An tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres,
 Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

76. Qui vero Narbone reditus! etiam quaerebat cur 20
 ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui
 nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei: volui, si
 possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei
 publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissem:
 primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et toga, 25
 nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam aspicias me et
 quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gra-
 tiam redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae,
 cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagi-
 tiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audiui: qui magis- 30
 ter equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum
 consulatum peteres vel potius rogares, per municipia
 coloniasque Galliae, e qua nos tum cum consulatus
 petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum soleba-
 mus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurristi. XXXI. 77. At 31
 videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere
 ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula
 atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperam; inde
 cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus, domum venit capite 5
 obvoluto. Ianitor: “quis tu?” “a Marco tabellarius.”
 Confestim ad eam, cuius causa venerat, eique epistulam
 tradidit. Quam cum illa legeret flens—erat enim
 scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum, sibi cum illa

- 31 *mima posthac nihil futurum, omnem se amorem abie-*
cisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse—cum mulier
fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit, caput
aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid
enim aliud dicam? Magis proprie nihil possum dicere.
- 15 *Ergo ut te Catamitum, necopinato cum te ostendisses,*
praeter spem mulier aspiceret, ideirco urbem terrore
nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti?
78. *Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris*
etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet.
- 20 *Productus autem in contionem a tribuno plebi cum*
respondisses te rei tuae causa venisse, populum etiam
dicacem in te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis:
ad maiora veniamus.
- 32 XXXII. C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam
longissime processisti; celeriter isti redisti, ut cognos-
ceret te si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum: factus
es ei rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc
5 *omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egen-*
temque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque
cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissime recipi-
ebat. 79. His igitur rebus praeclare commendatus,
iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso. Nihil
10 *queror de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, inductus,*
elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum
perfidia in Dolabellam quis ignorat? Ille promissum
et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit; tu eius per-
fidae voluntatem tuam ascripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae
15 *Ianuariae; cogimur in senatum: invectus est copiosius*
multo in istum et paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego.
80. *Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum*
cum Caesar ostendisset se, priusquam proficisceretur,
Dolabellam consulem esse iussurum—quem negant
20 *regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et*

diceret,—sed cum Caesar ita dixisset, tum hic bonus 32
 augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia
 auspiciis vel impedire vel vitare posset, idque se fac-
 turum esse adseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem
 stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. 81. Quid enim? 25
 Istud, quod te sacerdotii iure facere posse dixisti, si
 augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuis-
 ses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem
 solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus etiam
 spectionem. Esto, hoc imperite—nec enim est ab 30
 homine nunquam sobrio postulanda prudentia—; sed
 videte impudentiam: multis ante mensibus in senatu
 dixit se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibitorum auspiciis
 aut id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare
 potest quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de 35
 caelo servare constituit? Quod neque licet comitiis per
 leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed pri-
 usquam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verum implicata
 nscientia impudentia est: nec scit quod augurem nec
 facit quod pudentem decet. 82. Itaque ex illo die 40
 recordamini eius usque ad Idus Martias consulatum:
 quis unquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abiectus?
 Nihil ipse poterat; omnia rogabat; caput in aversam
 lecticam inserens, beneficia quae venderet a collega
 petebat. XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellae comitiorum dies. 33
 sortitio praerogativae: quiescit. Renuntiatur: tacet.
 Prima classis vocatur, renuntiatur; deinde VI, ut
 adsolet, suffragia; tum secunda classis vocatur; quae
 omnia sunt citius facta quam dixi: 83. confecto negotio 5
 bonus augur—C. Laelium diceret—"alio die" inquit.
 O impudentiam singularem! quid videras? quid
 senseras? quid audieras? Neque enim te de caelo
 servasse dixisti nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit
 vitium, quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse 10

- 33 provideras et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es auspicia, obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum, augur auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti.
- 15 Nolo plura, ne aeta Dolabellae videar convellere, quae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur. 84. Sed adrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite: quam diu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum
- 20 augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum "alio die" dixeris, sobrium non fuisse; sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit, augur a collega requiro.
- 34 XXXIV. Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis M. Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet.
- 5 Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris sit tanta merces, id est, ubi campus Leontinus appareat. 85. Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus toga pur-
- 10 purea, in sella aurea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam—ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes—, diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? Non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatam et cogitatum scelus. Tu
- 15 diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plausu reiciebat. Tu ergo unus, seclerate, inventus es qui, cum auctor regni esses eumque quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles, idem temptares quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset. 86. At etiam
- 20 misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad pedes abiciebas. Quid petens? Ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita

a puero vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires: 34
 a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non
 habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum
 es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius, quid foedius, 25
 quid suppliciiis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas dum
 te stimulis fodiamus? Haec te, si ullam partem habes
 sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor ne im-
 minuam summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen
 dolore commotus: quid indignius quam vivere eum, 30
 qui imposuerit diadema, cum omnes fateantur iure
 interfectum esse qui abiecerit? 87. At etiam ascribi
 iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia "C. Caesari dictatori
 perpetuo M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum
 detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse." Iamiam minime 35
 miror te otium perturbare; non modo urbem odisse
 sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus non
 solum de die sed etiam in diem bibere. Ubi enim tu
 in pace consistes? Qui locus tibi in legibus et in
 iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, domi- 40
 natu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus
 est, Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut
 multis post saeculis a M. Antonio rex Romae con-
 stitueretur?

XXXV. 88. Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus 35
 Idibus Martiis fuit in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero:
 tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam equidem te paratum
 venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen
 parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit 5
 illum diem fortuna rei publicae. Num etiam tuum de
 auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed
 incidi in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa
 erat oratio, praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga, quae
 formido praeclaro illo die! Quae propter conscientiam 10
 scelerum desperatio vitae, cum ex illa fuga beneficio

35 eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt,
clam te domum recepisti! 89. O mea frustra semper
verissima auguria rerum futurarum! dicebam illis in
15 Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent,
ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortarer: quoad
metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere de-
sisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum ceteri con-
sulares irent redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo
20 die neque postero vidi, neque ullam societatem optimis
civibus cum importunissimo hoste foedere ullo confir-
mari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem
Telluris et quidem invitus, cum omnes aditus armati
obsiderent. 90. Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit? Quam-
25 quam mihi inimicus subito exstitisti, tamen me tui
36 miseret, quod tibi invideris. XXXVI. Qui tu vir, di
immortales, et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem
servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat facta
per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem.
5 Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus
magister officii, improbum fecit ea, quae, dum timor
abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum opti-
mum te putabant me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni,
si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti. 91. Tua
10 illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu,
tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semusti-
latus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus
deflagavit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et
ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque rep-
15 pulimus, in nostras domos immisisti. Idem tamen
quasi fuligine abstersa reliquis diebus in Capitolio
praeclara senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus
Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficii fige-
retur. Meministi ipse, de exsulibus, scis, de immuni-
20 tate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturae

nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti: quo 36
quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni vide-
batur, ut eius omen omne propter proximi dictatoris
metum tolleres. 92. Constituta res publica videbatur
aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante 25
naufragia metuebam. Num igitur me fefellit? Aut
num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse? Inspectantibus
vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum
singulis venibant immunitates sed etiam populis uni-
versis; civitas non iam singillatim sed provinciis totis 30
dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante re publica
manere non possunt, provincias universas, patres con-
scripti, perdidistis, neque vectigalia solum sed etiam
imperium populi Romani huius domesticis nundinis
deminutum est. XXXVII. 93. Ubi est septiens 37
miliens, quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis?
Funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen quae nos,
si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis posset
vindicare. Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium, quod 5
Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas
Apriles debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia,
quae a tuis emebantur non insciente te, sed unum
egregium de rege Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo,
decretum in Capitolio fixum: quo proposito nemo erat 10
qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. 94. Quis
enim cuiquam inimicius quam Deiotaro Caesar? Aequae
atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut
omnibus, quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram
esse sentiebat. Igitur a quo vivo nec praesens nec 15
absens rex Deiotarus quicquam aequi boni impetravit,
apud mortuum factus est gratus. Compellarat hos-
pitem praesens, computarat, pecuniam imperarat, in
eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis col-
locarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam: haec 20

- 37 vivus eripuit, reddit mortuus. 95. At quibus verbis!
Modo aequum sibi videri, modo non iniquum. Mira
verborum complexio! At ille numquam—semper enim
absenti adfui Deiotaro—quicquam sibi, quod nos pro
25 illo postularem, aequum dixit videri. Syngrapha ses-
tertii centiens per legatos, viros bonos sed timidos
et imperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitem
regis sententia facta in gynaeceo est, quo in loco
plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha
30 quid sis acturus meditare censeo: rex enim ipse sua
sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque
audivit eius interitum, suo Marte res suas recipavit.
96. Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, ut, quae
tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis ii, quibus
35 erepta essent, reciparent. Nemo igitur iure con-
sultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus,
per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicet
pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham recipatae:
non enim a te emit, sed prius quam tu suum sibi
40 venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit; nos quidem
contemnendi, qui actorem odimus, acta defendimus.
38 XXXVIII. 97. Quid ego de commentariis infinitis,
quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? Quo-
rum etiam institores sunt, qui ea tamquam gladiatorum
libellos palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi num-
5 morum apud istum construuntur, ut iam expendantur,
non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia
est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates locupletis-
simae Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur, statuiturque,
ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia.
10 Tu mentis compos? Tu non constringendus? An
Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit
liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum Caesare vivo
pertineret? At huius venditione decreti—ne nihil

actum putetis—provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Om- 38
nino nemo ullius rei fuit emptor cui defuerit hic 15
venditor. 98. Et de exsulibus legem, quam fixisti,
Caesar tulit? Nullius insector calamitatem: tantum
queror, primum eorum reditus aequatos, quorum
causam Caesar dissimilem iudicavit; deinde nescio
cur non reliquis idem tribuas—neque enim plus 20
quam tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt—: qui simili in
calamitate sunt, cur tua misericordia non simili fru-
untur? Cur eos habes in loco patrum? De quo ferre,
cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti; quem etiam ad
censuram petendam impulisti, eamque petitionem 25
comparasti, quae et risus hominum et querellas
moveret. 99. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti?
An quia tribunus plebi sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat?
Cum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt; cum
tuorum, tum fis religiosus. Quid? Eundem in sep- 30
temviratu nonne destituisti? Intervenit enim, cui
metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses.
Omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco,
si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam eius,
sororem tuam, eiecisti alia condicione quaesita et ante 35
perspecta. Non est satis: probri insimulasti pudici-
cissimam feminam. Quid est quod addi possit? Con-
tentus eo non fuisti: frequentissimo senatu Kalendis
Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella
causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori 40
tuae stuprum esse oblatum comperisses—quis inter-
pretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an im-
probior, qui in Dolabellam, an impurior, qui patre
audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam
spurce, tam impie dixeris? Sed ad chirographa 45
redeamus. XXXIX. 100. Quae tua fuit cognitio? 39
Acta enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a

39 senatu: quae quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quae
egisse Caesarem dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erum-
5 punt? Quo auctore proferuntur? Si sunt falsa, cur
probantur? Si vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat,
ut ex Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio
cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium? Quem unquam
convocasti? Quas Kalendas Iunias exspectasti? An
10 eas, ad quas te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipa-
tum armis rettulisti?

O praeclaram illam percursionem tuam mense
Aprili atque Maio, tum, cum etiam Capuam coloniam
deducere conatus es! Quem ad modum illinc abieris
15 vel potius paene non abieris scimus. 101. Cui tu urbi
minitaris. Utinam conere, ut aliquando illud "paene"
tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio!
Quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam vinulentiam
tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra:
20 agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus exime-
batur ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei
publicae vulnus putabamus, hunc tu compransoribus
tuis et collusoribus dividebas: minos dico et minas,
patres conscripti, in agro Campano conlocatos. Quid
25 iam querar de agro Leontino? Quoniam quidem
hae quondam arationes Campana et Leontina in
populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae et fructuosae
ferebantur. Medico tria milia iugerum: quid, si te
sanasset? Rhetori duo: quid, si te disertum facere
30 potuisset? Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus. XL.
40 102. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quo Caesar ante
deduxerat; consuluisti me per litteras de Capua tu
quidem, sed idem de Casilino respondi: pos-
sesne, ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam novam iure de-
5 ducere. Negavi in eam coloniam, quae esset auspicato
deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam iure

deduci: colonos novos ascribi posse rescripsi. Tu 40
autem insolentia elatus omni auspicio iure turbato
Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis
ante deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circum- 10
duceres; cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene
perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minu-
eretur. 103. Ab hac perturbatione religionum advolas
in M. Varronis, sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri,
fundum Casinatem. Quo iure? Quo ore? "Eodem," 15
inquires "quo in heredum L. Rubrii, quo in heredum
L. Turselii praedia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles pos-
sessiones." Et si ab hasta, valeat hasta, valeant
tabulae, modo Caesaris, non tuae, quibus debuisti, non
quibus tu te liberavisti. Varronis quidem Casinatem 20
fundum quis venisse dicit? Quis hastam istius ven-
ditionis vidit? Quis vocem praeconis audivit? Misisse
dicis Alexandream qui emeret a Caesare. Ipsum enim
exspectare magnum fuit. 104. Quis vero audivit un-
quam—nullius autem salus curae pluribus fuit—de 25
fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Quid?
Si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar ut redderes, quid satis
potest dici de tanta impudentia? Remove gladios
parumper illos, quos videmus: iam intelleges aliam
causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et 30
temeritatis tuae; non enim te dominus modo illis
aedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator
arcebit. XLI. At quam multos dies in ea villa tur- 41
pissime es perbacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur,
ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera, "quam
dispari domino!"—Quamquam quo modo iste domi-
nus? Sed tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur!—stu- 5
diorum enim suorum Varro voluit illud, non libidinum
deversorium. 105. Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur,
quae cogitabantur, quae litteris mandabantur! Iura

41 populi Romani, monimenta maiorum, omnis sapientiae
10 ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero te inquilino—non
enim domino—personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum,
natabant pavimenta viuo, madebant parietes, in-
genui pueri cum meritoriis inter matres familias
versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino,
15 Interamna: admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem: in
homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis in-
signia. 106. Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum
accederet, obviam ei processit, ut est frequens muni-
cipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica
20 latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates:
sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid Anagnini? Qui
cum essent devii, descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si
esset consul, salutarent. Incredibile dictu est, verum
vicinos inter omnes constabat neminem esse resalutatum,
25 praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Muste-
lam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiatorum est princeps,
alter poenulorum. 107. Quid ego illas istius minas
contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in
Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et
30 Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem studio,
iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te et Basilum,
vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos clientes
nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse.
42 XLII. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegae tui
fuit, cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro
evertit! Qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos,
qui una fuerant, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea
5 nescio—metum credo valuisse et arma—; collegam
quidem de caelo detraxisti effecistisque non tu quidem
etiam nunc, ut similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset
sui. 108. Qui vero inde reditus Romam? Quae per-
turbatio totius urbis! Memineramus Cinuam nimis

potentem, Sullam postea dominantem, modo regnantem 42
 Caesarem videramus: erant fortasse gladii, sed abscon- 11
 diti nec ita multi: ista vero quae et quanta barbaria
 est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur; scu-
 torum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem iam
 inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus: 15
 Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat constitutum,
 venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus.
 109. At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit
 quemquam et potius discessu nostro laetatus est, sta-
 timque illa mirabilia facinora effecit: qui chirographa 20
 Caesaris defendisset lucri sui causa, is leges Caesaris
 easque praeclaras, ut rem publicam concutere posset,
 evertit; numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit;
 idemque, cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet,
 et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. 25
 In publicis nihil est lege gravius; in privatis firmissi-
 mum est testamentum: leges alias sine promulgatione
 sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit; testamentum
 irritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus semper obten-
 tum est: signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum 30
 hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei depor-
 tavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. 110. Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens? 43
 Tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem maiorem
 consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum,
 fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut
 Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius. Quid 5
 igitur cessas? Cur non inauguraris? Sume diem,
 vide qui te inauguret: collegae sumus; nemo negabit.
 O detestabilem hominem, sive quod Caesaris sacerdos
 es sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps, num hodiernus
 dies qui sit ignores? Nescis heri quartum in circo diem 10
 ludorum Romanorum fuisse, te autem ipsum ad populum

43 tulisse ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur?
Cur non sumus praetextati? Cur honorem Caesaris,
tua lege datum, deserere patimur? An supplicationes
15 addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria nolu-
isti? Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque quaque
conserva. 111. Quaeris placeatne mihi pulvinar esse,
fastigium, flaminem: mihi vero nihil istorum placet;
sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere
20 cur alia defendas, alia non cures? Nisi forte vis fateri
te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid
ad haec tandem?—Exspecto enim eloquentiam tuam.
Disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te etiam aper-
torem in dicendo: ille numquam nudus est contionatus,
25 tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus—: responde-
bisne ad haec? Aut omnino hiscere audebis? Ecquid
reperies ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere
44 posse confidas? XLIV. 112. Sed praeterita omitta-
mus: hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum
diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si
potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus saeptus est?
5 Cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt? Cur valvae
Concordiae non patent? Cur homines omnium gentium
maxime barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in
forum? Praesidii sui causa se facere dicit. Non igitur
miliens perire est melius quam in sua civitate sine
10 armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum
est istud, mihi crede, praesidium: caritate te et bene-
volentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis. 113.
Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus,
utinam salvus nobis! Sed quoquo modo nobiscum
15 egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi
crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara
coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium
diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem.

Habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula rei 44
 publicae deferat: qui ubicunque terrarum sunt, ibi 20
 omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa
 res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est,
 nondum recipiavit; habet quidem certe res publica
 adulescentes nobilissimos paratos defensores: quam
 volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica 25
 revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res
 salutaris, sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum
 interest: pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postre-
 mum malorum omnium, non modo bello sed morte
 etiam repellendum. 114. Quodsi se ipsos illi nostri 30
 liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exem-
 plum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat,
 fecerunt: Tarquinius Brutus bello est persecutus,
 qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius,
 Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni 35
 appetendi sunt necati: hi primum cum gladiis non
 in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem impetum
 fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum
 est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum est,
 praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae 40
 vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in
 ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen
 mortali immortalitatem non arbitrör esse contem-
 nendam.

XLV. 115. Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, 45
 quo dictaturam sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam
 senatus populique Romani; confer cum hac immani
 nundinatione tua tuorumque: tum intelleges quantum
 inter lucrum et laudem intersit. Sed nimirum, ut 5
 quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem
 cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi verae
 laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus adlicere ad

45 recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedis-
10 simis factis potest avocare? Iudicia non metuis: si
propter innocentiam, laudo; sin propter vim, non
intelleges, qui isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid
timendum sit? 116. Quodsi non metuis viros fortes
egregiosque cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur
15 armis, tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quae est
autem vita dies et noctes timere a suis? Nisi vero aut
maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam
habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus, aut tu es ulla re
cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium ratio,
20 memoria litterae, cura cogitatio diligentia; res bello
gesserat, quamvis rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen
magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus, magno
labore, multis periculis quod cogitarat effecerat;
muneribus monimentis, congiariis epulis multitudinem
25 imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios ele-
mentiae specie devinxerat. Quid multa? Attulerat
iam liberae civitati partim metu partim patientia con-
46 suetudinem serviendi. XLVI. 117. Cum illo ego te
dominandi cupiditate conferre possum, ceteris vero rebus
nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex plurimis malis,
quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni
5 exstitit, quod didicit iam populus Romanus quantum
cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret.
118. Haec non cogitas neque intellegis satis esse viris
fortibus didicisse quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio
gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, eum
10 illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? Certatim post-
hac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur neque occasionis
tarditas exspectabitur.

Resipisce, quaeso, aliquando; a quibus ortus sis,
non quibuscum vivas considera; mecum, ut voles:
15 redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris;

ego de me ipse profitebor. 119. Defendi rem publi- 46
cam adulescens, non deseram senex: contempsì Cati-
linae gladios, non pertimescam tuos; quin etiam corpus
libenter obtulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas
civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani 20
pariat, quod iam diu parturit! Etenim si abhinc
annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse
mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius
nunc negabo seni? Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam
etiam optanda mors est perfuncto rebus iis, quas adep- 25
tus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto, unum,
ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam—
hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest
—; alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica
quisque mereatur.

NOTES.

The references in the Notes are to chapters and lines. Proper names of any importance, when not mentioned in the Notes, will be found in the Index.

An obelus (+) prefixed to a word denotes that the reading is doubtful.

TITLE.

Philippicarum: sc. *orationum*. The name of "Philippics" (*i.e.* "concerning Philip") was originally applied to certain speeches of the Athenian orator Demosthenes, in which he attacked Philip of Macedon, between the years 351-341 B.C. The name was hence transferred to the fourteen speeches in which Cicero more or less directly attacks Antonius, or the policy of Antonius; not so much from any resemblance in tone or language,* as from the similarity between the *political* attitudes of the two orators. As Demosthenes represented free Athens struggling against the encroachments of King Philip, so Cicero represented the free Republic struggling against the threatened military despotism of Antonius. It was apparently Cicero himself who first suggested the comparison; for in a letter to Brutus (ii. 4. 2) he says *Video te delectari Philippicis nostris*, "I see that you are delighted with my 'Philippics,' " and Brutus replies (ii. 5. 4), "I give you my leave to call them indeed 'Philippics,' as one of your letters jestingly has it." The next allusion to the name is in Juvenal's Satires (x. 124), written about 100 A.D. :—

Ridenda poemata malo
Quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
Volveris a prima quae proxima.

(*"I would sooner be the author of the sorriest verses than of any speech so famous and so remarkable as the Second Philippic."*)

The name *Orationes Antonianae* or *in Antonium*, by which they would naturally be styled in Latin, is only rarely found.

* The use of the term "a Philippic" in modern English, to denote a wild and unmeasured harangue, generally of a violently personal character, is drawn not from the "Philippics" of Demosthenes, but from those of Cicero, and more particularly from his Second Philippic.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 1, 2. *It is my fate that every traitor in the State must make me his special butt. Generally, I allow, the quarrel has been of my making; but why Antonius has attacked me I know not. It can scarce be because he deems me of no account, or that he forgets that I have the Senate on my side, or that he merely desires to pit himself against me in an oratorical duel. I suppose the true reason to be that he is bound to quarrel with such a patriot as I am, in order to give his fellow-traitors the needful proof that he is himself a traitor.*

[See Index of Proper Names for *Catilina* and *Clodius*.]

Ch. I. 1. *patres conscripti*: "Senators." As applied to the senators *patres* originally meant the same as *patricii*, for originally none but patricians sat in the Senate, although plebeians were admitted from a very early period. In the phrase *patres conscripti*, the second member is either an adjective qualifying *patres*, or a substantive coordinated with *patres* by asyndeton, i.e. the phrase stands for *patres et conscripti*. In the former case, *patres conscripti* most probably meant those patricians who were "enrolled" (*conscripti*) by the king to act as his senate, in contrast with the remainder of the patricians not so enrolled. In the latter case (i.e. if the phrase stands for *patres et conscripti*), *patres* denoted originally only such senators as were patricians, and *conscripti* included all other (i.e. plebeian) members of the House.

2. *his annis viginti*: "for (within) the last twenty years." As the Romans reckoned inclusively, it was just twenty years since *Catilina* had plotted to overthrow the government and to murder *Cicero* (so the latter believed).

3. *iudixerit*: subjunctive, the relative clause being consecutive or generic (*qui = ut is*).

4. *nominari*: but two names are given below, namely, *Catilina* and *Clodius*. *Cicero* now includes *Antonius* in the list. *poenarum*: the genitive (partitive) depends on *plus*.

6. *optarem*: potential subjunctive, i.e. subjunctive forming the apodosis to a hypothetical sentence of which the protasis is suppressed, "more than I could have wished (had I been allowed to choose)." Some editions read *optaram*, "more than I actually had desired." *quorum . . . eorum*: the relative clause precedes its grammatical antecedent, an arrangement which English idiom does not admit.

7. *quorum . . . imitere*: subjunctive, because the clause is dependent on a main phrase in the accusative and infinitive. *Exitus* ("their several ends") is a good instance of the distributive use of the plural. *hoc*: the fact that they were hostile to *Cicero* personally. For he had himself begun the quarrel with *Catilina*, by accusing him of revolutionary designs, and he had made an enemy of *Clodius* by appearing as a witness against him when on his trial for profanation of the mysteries.

9. *rei publicae causa*: "on patriotic grounds."

11. *ultra*: in its normal sense of "beyond (*ultra*) what is reasonable," i.e. "without provocation."

13. *ad*: "in the eyes of." Cicero constantly uses *impius*, as here, to mean "politically undutiful," i.e. "revolutionary," "disloyal." *contemptumne me*: "(am I to think) that I am scorned (by you)?"

14. *non . . . nec . . . nec*: the introductory negative (*non*) is merely analysed, not cancelled, by those which follow. *in gratia*: "in point of influence," the usual meaning of *gratia* in the singular. *Res gestae* as opposed to *vita* means public as opposed to private life.

16. *an . . . credidit*: "surely he did not think . . .," the use of *an* in single direct questions being tantamount to a scornful negation of the question. *facillime*: the adverb belongs to *in senatu*, "in the senate more easily than anywhere else." For the senate, as he says in the next sentence, was Cicero's most grateful admirer.

17. *ordo*: constantly used in Cicero of the *ordo senatorius*, the senators and their immediate kin.

18. *bene gestae rei publicae testimonium*: "testimony to their able administration of the State."

19. *conservatae*: sc. *rei publicae*. Cicero was never weary of boasting that he had "saved the State" from Catilina's intended revolution. *quam mihi*: the dative *mihi* answers to *cuiquam*, "to anyone," understood in the clause preceding *quam*.

22. *illud profecto*: sc. *putandum est*, "this then is the conclusion I must come to," *illud* referring, as often, to what follows.

23. *hostem . . . inimicus*: *hostis* is the "public foe" of the State at large, *inimicus* the "private enemy" of an individual.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 3-7. *Antonius charges me with ingratitude. He says I opposed his wishes in a certain case. And why not? I was but supporting a friend, while Antonius, I imagine, was bidding for the favour of the scum of society. He says that he was once my pupil. Much better for him if he had been! He says he retired in my favour when I desired to be elected an Augur. Why, he was in no position to stand for the Augurship then, and if he had been, his election-agent Curio was not available to help him. Finally, says he, he once did me a kindness. Well, he once failed to kill me when it was in his power, and that, I suppose, is the best favour that one can expect from a brigand. However, wherein have I proved an ingrate? Has not my tone towards him been moderate, not to say friendly, despite his unpatriotic, lawless, and dissolute conduct? I will be merciless to-day, that he may know how merciful I have been heretofore.*

[See Index of Proper Names for Pompeius, Hortensius, Curio, Crassus.]

Ch. II. 1. *contra rem suam . . . venisse*: "went counter to his interests." Cicero, it seems, had appeared in a law-suit on behalf of some "friend and relative" (prosecutor), whose antagonist (defendant) was a protégé of Antonius; and the last-named, in order to save the defendant from the consequences of the conviction which menaced him, induced a tribune to put a stop to all further proceedings by his veto. Nothing is known with certainty as to the facts of the case.

but it is a probable conjecture that the defendant in the suit was himself one of the *libertini* (see ii. 7), for Cicero suggests that Antonius by protecting him sought to curry favour with that *infimus ordo*, and that Cicero's client was his friend Sicca. *nescio quando*: "at some time or other," "goodness knows when." The expression (like *nescio quis*, etc.) implies that the affair was too trivial to waste time over. See the note on xiv. 26.

2. *an . . . non venirem*: "ought I not to have gone, etc.?" or, "was I not to have gone?" The subjunctive is in reality jussive, although when used interrogatively it is often styled deliberative, or dubitative. *iste*: "my antagonist" *i.e.* Antonius. *Iste* is normally used in oratory for the other party to the case, whether prosecutor, defendant, or simply opponent, as here.

5. *intercessoris*: *intercessio* is "veto," the power of obstructing all proceedings of government, justice, etc., by simply forbidding them. This power was inherent in all magistracies, but in particular it was the foundation of the powers of the tribune. Hence *intercessor* here = *tribunus*. Apparently Antonius, seeing that his protégé was likely to be worsted, bribed a tribune to veto all further proceedings in the case. Such use of the veto was of course a misuse of power, and this is what *iniquissimi* means.

6. *iure praetorio*: the praetors corresponded somewhat to our Chief Justices, and the "praetorian law" (*praetorium ius*), *i.e.* that body of precedents, etc., which was accumulated during the long working of the praetors' courts, was the normal "law" of Rome. If the praetors' verdict had said that Antonius' protégé was in the right, the verdict would have been a justification for Antonius' attitude; but by preventing the giving of any verdict, *i.e.* by preventing the "praetorian law" from taking its course, Antonius in effect admitted that he himself and his client were in the wrong.

7. *infimo ordini*: *i.e.* the freedmen (*libertini* or *liberti*). These were persons who, having been born slaves, had been freed by their owners. They were very naturally despised by the genuine Roman citizens, and marriage with one of their number was looked upon as a degradation.

9. *nepotes*: after this word some editions insert the name *Q. Fadii*. *Q. Fadius* was the father of Antonius' first wife Fadia, and a *libertinus*. It has been thought that he was the person protected by Antonius against Sicca. *fuisse*: "had been," so long as *Fadius* was alive (not so long as *they* were alive).

10. *at enim*: used with its customary force to introduce the statement of an objection advanced by an opponent. So also *at* alone; *e.g.* iii. 1, ix. 9. in *disciplinam . . . tradideras*: "put yourself under my teaching." Young Romans who desired to enter public life attached themselves to older men of repute, accompanying them to the law courts and elsewhere, and so learning the routine of law, public business, etc.

11. *ne tu*: *ne* is the particle of emphasis ("verily," "of a truth"), and has nothing to do with the conjunction *ne*. It is usually joined,

as here, with personal pronouns, and does not affect the mood, which is here (*consuluisse*) hypothetical subjunctive, with a protasis (*fecisses*) denoting unfulfilled past condition.

14. *auguratus . . . concessisse*: "waived in my favour your candidature for the office of augur," i.e. withdrew and allowed Cicero to be elected without opposition. The genitive *auguratus* is objective.

15. *O incredibilem audaciam!* the accusative is the proper case for exclamations.

18. *nec enim licebat . . . nominari*: the Augurs at the date in question were fifteen. The law required all candidates for vacancies in the Augural College to be nominated by at least one, and by not more than two, of the remaining Augurs. Cicero says that he had as many nominations as the law allowed, and that his nominators were two of the most influential men in Rome.

19. *solvendo esse* is "to be solvent," "to be in a position to pay one's debts"; cp. (*pecuniam*) *solvere*, "to pay (money)." The dative is that of "work contemplated," (*lit.* "to be for paying").

20. *incolumem*: frequently used by Cicero of one who has escaped bankruptcy, or conviction in a court of law.

21. *cum . . . non esset*: the clause has full causal force, Cicero implying that Antonius owed his subsequent election solely to Curio's assistance in the shape of bribery. Curio was then (53 B.C.) acting as pro-quaestor in the province of Asia.

22. *tum, cum es factus*: as the mood shows, the clause is strictly temporal. The date referred to is 50 B.C. With *factus* understand *augur*.

23. *ferre*: we use "carry" in the same sense = "win the votes of." A vacancy in the Augurs' College was filled up by a majority out of seventeen tribes, which had been previously selected by lot out of the whole number of thirty-five tribes. *cuius etiam*: the adverb emphasises the relative—"the very man, whose." *de vi*: "for rioting" (i.e. intimidation) on the occasion of the election.

24. *quod . . . fuissent*: the clause stands in the subjunctive as giving the *alleged* ground of their conviction. *Tui* is objective genitive with *studiosi*.

Ch. III. 2. *quamquam*: resumptive, "and yet." The thought is: "Yet *I have no need to ask 'what kindness?' for I have always paraded the very one to which you refer.*" Antonius accused Cicero of ungratefully forgetting that the former had once saved his life, viz. when Cicero, returning to Brundisium after the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.), found that Caesar had given orders to prevent the landing of any of Pompeius' adherents. Antonius, at the time commanding at Brundisium, made a public exception in favour of Cicero; but Cicero professed to have already received Caesar's permission to land, and therefore argues that he owed nothing to Antonius. *malui*: "I preferred to acknowledge myself your debtor, rather than have any mistaken persons think me lacking in gratitude." *Minus prudenti* (dative after *videri*) means "not keen-sighted enough to understand

the real facts," viz. that it was not to Antonius, but to Caesar, that Cicero owed his safety.

5. **Brundisii**: locative. **occideris**: subjunctive, as giving the reason which Antonius is supposed to allege. Cp. *fuissent*, ii. 24.

8. **eum tu occideres**: "ought you to have slain?" deliberative subjunctive. *Ipse victor* is Caesar, and *principatum detulerat* refers to the fact that Caesar, on leaving Italy for the Pharsalian campaign, left Antonius behind as his deputy. The subjunctives *voluisset* and *iussisset* are due to attraction, being subordinate to the main subjunctive clause *occideres*.

9. **fac potuisse**: sc. *occidere me*, "suppose it had been in your power to kill me." This use of *fac* in the sense of *imagine* ("imagine") is common. It occurs again, xxiv. 25.

11. **quod . . . consecuti**: the argument is this. Caesar was a *latro*, and he spared men like Brutus and Cassius. Antonius says this was an act of kindness. Then Brutus and Cassius should have been duly grateful. Yet they murdered Caesar. They were therefore ungrateful, and Antonius ought to denounce them. Yet he says they are the noblest of men. Therefore he cannot really believe that they owed anything to Caesar for having spared their lives. And it follows that neither do I (Cicero) owe anything to Antonius for having spared mine.

15. **abstinueris**: for the subjunctive, cp. *occideris*, above, line 5.

18. **sit**: concessive subjunctive, "suppose it was a kindness."

22. **querella**: the First Philippic, of Sept. 2nd. **pro hoc gradu**: "in view of my high rank" as a *consularis* and *pater patriae*, and virtual leader of the Republican party.

26. **cuius temperantiae fuit**: "(belonging to) what moderation it was" (*i.e.* what moderation did it involve). The genitive is predicative, the subject being the following accusative and infinitive clause.

28. **reliquias rei publicae**: "all that was left of the (free) Republic," *i.e.* all that remained of the Republican party and their policy. There had been a rally of the Republicans at Caesar's death, but Antonius' conduct had rendered it abortive.

29. **mercato**: alluding to his alleged practice of selling offices, exemptions, indulgences, etc., which he subsequently justified as being in accordance with the will, notes, or other directions left by Caesar. **leges**: the law required that any new legislative proposal should be "promulgated," *i.e.* publicly notified, for at least seventeen days (*tres nundinae*) before the polling. Cicero declares that Antonius neglected this law.

30. **de te**: "in your own interests." **a te**: "on your own initiative," and therefore not to be justified as being amongst Caesar's wishes.

31. **auspicia augur**: yet, as an Augur, Antonius should have shown the most scrupulous regard for the auspices, the proper study and maintenance whereof was the *raison d'être* of the Augurs' College. **intercessionem consul**: as the highest magistrate in the State, the

consul should have been most careful to acknowledge the right of *intercessio* (for which see on ii. 5).

32. *stipatus armatis*: Antonius had furnished himself with a sort of bodyguard, which he used for purposes of intimidation, *e.g.* at the *Comitia*. Yet it was unlawful for anyone to bear arms within the precincts of the City.

35. *M. Crasso*: the triumvir of 59 B.C. Cicero implies that, though Crassus was his bitter political enemy, he was at least a gentleman, and to be treated as such.

36. *uno gladiatore*: *unus* is occasionally thus used to emphasize a superlative. Cp. *unam pulcherrimam*, xxxiv. 2. *Gladiator* is used metaphorically ("a ruffian") from the fact that gladiators were a by-word for evil living and recklessness.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 7-10. *Antonius has published certain private letters of mine. It is a gross breach of good manners, and it is foolish too; for if I were to deny that I wrote them, he could not prove that I did. He has paid his teachers handsomely for teaching him folly! But I admit I wrote the letters. Apparently the only grievance he can find in them is that they are so polite in their tone. I might produce letters of his—letters in which he asks for my consent to measures for which, as we were given to understand, he had Caesar's authority. It is permissible to ask, then, why he should seek any permission of mine.*

Ch. IV. 2. *quas . . . diceret*: = *quas . . . dixit*. The meaning is exactly the same as if we had *quas sibi misissem*, where *misissem* would be the subjunctive of reported description, implying that the clause was part of Antonius' own assertion, "a letter which *he* alleged I had sent." As the verb of saying (*dicere*) is here added, there is no syntactical reason why the subjunctive should be used, but the idiom is so common in similar cases as to be almost the rule, and it must be explained as due to attraction to the mood of reported description. Professor Mayor cites, as an instance of similar carelessness in English, the sentence "He went away because he said it was late" (= "because it was late, or so he said").

3. *vitae communis*: "the life of man amongst men," "social life." So *Communi sensu plane caret*, "He is completely without the social instinct." *Communis* means simply "what is shared by all," and has nothing to do with "common" in the sense of "ordinary" or "vulgar." The genitives *humanitatis* and *vitae* are objective.

4. *qui . . . nosset*: "if he but knows," an instance of the so-called restrictive force of *qui* with the subjunctive, in reality a variety of the consecutive usage.

6. *in medium protulit*: "made public," *medium* being substantival.

7. *quid est aliud tollere*: "what else is this but to do away with . . .," translating as if *quam* or *nisi* were inserted (as it sometimes is) after *aliud*.

11. *sit hoc inhumanitatis*: "let us regard this as (a proof of) your lack of breeding." The genitive is predicative.

12. *quid habes quod . . . opponas*: "what have you that you could reply to me." The sentence breaks off with a digression (*homo disertus . . . defensurus*), and is presently resumed and completed in *quid opponas tandem, si negem*. In the first instance, however, *opponas* is a consecutive subjunctive (*quod = tale ut id*), in the latter it is hypothetical.

13. *ut Mustelae . . . videris*: the clause takes up the sarcastic epithet *diserte*. Tiro and Mustela were two of Antonius' low-class supporters and bullies. Cicero says: Creatures like those doubtless think you a clever speaker (*i.e.* for the virulence of your attack upon me), and if you can justify their presence here I too will think you a clever pleader. The force of *tamen* ("at least") is that a Mustela and a Tiro at any rate thought Antonius eloquent, if better men did not.

14. *cum gladiis*: this was illegal, above all in the presence of the Senate. See on iii. 32.

16. *inter sicarios*: *i.e.* if they were to be put upon their trial for assassination (*sicarius* = one who uses a *sica*, or dagger). It is implied that they could have no other purpose in going about armed.

18. *convincas*: hypothetical subjunctive, *sc. si negem*, etc.

19. *chirographo*: "handwriting." But in xxxviii. 2, the meaning is "autograph-writings." *scientiam quaestuosam*: "a skill which brings you in money," alluding to the suspicion that Antonius had for money forged various documents purporting to be in Caesar's handwriting.

20. *qui possis*: *qui* is the archaic ablative of *quis* interrogative, "how?" *librarii manu*: *sc. scripta*, "(written) in my amanuensis' hand." Most literary men employed educated slaves to write from their dictation.

21. *magistro*: a rhetorician named Sextus Clodius, to whom Antonius gave 2000 jugera (about 1500 acres) of land in Sicily as a reward for his teaching. See § 43, to which *quantam iam proferam* refers. "I wish I could get as much for teaching anyone to act like a fool!" says Cicero. *qui . . . doceat*: the clause is causal, and therefore the verb is in the subjunctive.

23. *oratoris . . . hominis*: predicative genitives.

25. *in isto ipso*: *i.e.* in publishing the letter.

26. *inhumanitatis*: the customary genitive of the charge after a verb of accusing or condemning. *So amentiae*.

29. *crimen*: in its original and proper sense of "accusation."

30. *existimem*: subjunctive of reported cause, giving the reason present in *Antonius'* mind. *So scribam*. †*scribam*: see last note. Some editions read *scribebam*, but there is no sufficient cause why one of the two reasons offered should be represented as Antonius' if the other is not.

32. *poteram*: "I might," *sc. si vellem*, "if I chose." This is a good instance of the rule that *possum* (like *debeo* and some other verbs expressive of ability, duty, etc.) are, in the apodosis of conditional sentences, regularly constructed in the indicative, where other verbs would require the subjunctive.

34. *per me liceat*: *per me licet tibi* means "you have my permission." *quendam*: another Sextus Clodius (not the rhetorician of iv. 21, above), a creature of the famous Publius Clodius. He had been banished in the year of the latter's death (52 B.C.), and in connection with the same crime, viz. the riots attending the murder of Clodius by Milo.

36. *quid . . . me interponerem*: see on *non venire*, ii. 2.

37. *quem*: the antecedent of *quem* is contained in *tuæ*, the possessive adjective taking the place of a genitive (*tui*).

39. *quid erat quod*: "what reason had you to." With this phrase in this sense the subjunctive (final) is always used in prose.

40. *Caesaris lege*: in the letter to Cicero in which Antonius asks for Cicero's approval of the proposed recall of Sextus Clodius, he alleges that he had already obtained Caesar's consent; and in Philippic II. iii., Cicero makes Antonius declare that Caesar had actually passed a law expressly recalling Clodius. If this were so, he says, why ask for *my* consent?

41. *meam gratiam*: we should say "thanks to me." *in quo*: "in a case in which" there could be no thanks due to him. *lege lata*: the ablative absolute has either a causal or a conditional force, "seeing that (*or if*) the alleged law had really been passed (by Caesar)," for in that case it was Caesar alone to whom thanks were due. As Antonius could himself get no credit with Clodius for recalling him, he did not mind (says Cicero) making Cicero a present of the credit which was not his to give. It was a case of "thank you for nothing," so far as Cicero was concerned.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 10-20. *Antonius has attacked me. Pray give me a hearing, gentlemen, while I defend myself. I will guarantee that you shall be glad to listen when it is my turn to attack. He has censured my actions when consul, and does not see that, in doing so, he is censuring yourselves, and putting himself on the same level as Clodius. Well: other and better men approved of my actions, and showed it by quite exceptional decrees. Some of those men are still alive, and amongst them is his own uncle, Lucius Caesar. Pity the nephew is not like his uncle, but prefers—and makes no secret of preferring—the company of parasites and worse! He surrounds us with his bullies and then taunts me with having done the same on that famous day when I saved Rome. Why, the crowd that then surrounded the House was composed of every gentleman in Rome, and they came uncalled to give us their protection against conspirators and assassins self-convicted. He says too that I refused to give up for burial his father-in-law's corpse—that precious father-in-law who taught him to be just such another scoundrel as himself! Why, he admits that Lentulus was in the plot, which is the same thing as admitting that I was right to arrest him; yet he finds fault with the fellow's fate, which is the same thing as finding fault with you, gentlemen of the senate, for putting him to death. He taunts me with intimidation, while his bullies threaten us on every hand. Was there ever such inconsistency! And he tries to be witty*

at the expense of my poems. A better wit than his would not make amends for his treason. But these are trivialities.

[Refer to the Index of Proper Names for Clodius, Curio, Lucullus, Crassus, Cato, Lentulus.]

Ch. V. 2. alterum . . . alterum: "firstly . . . secondly . . ." The nature of the several requests is explained in each case by the following *ut*-clause.

5. **illud:** referring to what follows, viz. to the clause *ne . . . putetis* (i.e. *oro ne putetis*).

8. **consulem:** of the man actually in office. **consularem:** of the man who has once held the office.

9. **nullo modo consul:** "in no sense a consul," for his private life (*vivit*), his public life (*rem publicam gerit*), and the circumstances of his election (*factus est*), are alike unworthy of that high office. *Ita* means "as a consul should."

11. **ita factus est:** for Antonius owed his consulship to the direct appointment of Caesar, not to the regular methods of legal nomination, canvass, and successful appeal to the poll.

14. **verbo . . . re:** opposed as "nominally" to "in reality."

16. **ex . . . consilio:** "in accordance with the advice of this House." **haec:** sc. *quae constitui, quae gessi, quae egi*.

20. **qui vituperaret:** "(such as) to find fault with," subjunctive because the clause is consecutive. Cp. *tu es inventus qui diceret*, ix. 18.

21. **tibi . . . manet:** "is reserved for you." *Manere* also takes the accusative, e.g. *manet te*, "awaits you." **fatum:** i.e. a violent death. **†domus tuae:** possessive genitive, "there is that in (literally of) your house." Most MSS. read *domi tuae*, locative, which is easier. Cicero alludes to the fact that Antonius' wife at this date was Fulvia, who had previously been the wife, first of Clodius, then of Curio, and had, he says, brought ruin upon them both.

25. **proxime:** he died in the year of this speech, 44 B.C.

29. **tum:** in 63 B.C., Silanus and Murena having been declared consuls-elect for the following year.

31. **Catoni:** who never attained to the consulship, and was, therefore, not *consularis* as were all the other persons here named. **cum . . . tum:** "both . . . and . . ." Notice the double construction of *providit* ("foresaw," and so "avoided" by suicide), firstly with a direct accusative (*multa*), and secondly with an object-clause (*quod . . . vidit*). Cato died in 46 B.C., and Antonius obtained the consulship two years later.

34. **ex Syria:** after the conclusion of the Third (last) Mithradatic War, and subsequent settlement of Asia, 62 B.C.

37. **parenti:** alluding to the complimentary title of *Pater Patriae*, with which the Senate hailed Cicero for his services in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy. *Gratias agere* means "to offer thanks."

39. **referret acceptam:** a metaphor borrowed from finance, *referre acceptam* (sc. *pecuniam*) being "to enter in the account-book as

received," and so "to put to one's credit." The opposite phrase is *referre expensam*.

Ch. VI. 2. illis: the usual ablative with a verb of deprivation (*orbare*).

6. supplicationem: a "public thanksgiving." It was customary to decree such *supplicationes* to victorious generals as a mark of honour in return for great services rendered in the field; *e.g.* Julius Caesar was honoured with one of the unusual length of fifteen days for his victory over Ariovistus, 58 B.C. Cicero was the first person to be so honoured for other than military services, and in his case the *supplicatio* appears to have been of five days' duration. **eique:** the dative depends upon *adsensus est, illi ipsi* being nominative.

9. togato: one who wears the *toga*, *i.e.* a civilian, as opposed to *paludato*, one wearing the *paludamentum* or general's cloak. Since the legislation of Sulla (81 B.C.) the consuls had ceased to hold military command, and were therefore *togati*.

11. sententiam dixit: the technical phrase for "giving one's vote" in a speech before the Senate. **sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum:** P. Lentulus Sura, one of the Catilinarian conspirators. Upon the death of M. Antonius Creticus, father of the triumvir, he married the latter's mother Julia, thus becoming *vitricus* ("step-father") to Antonius. Julia was sister of L. Caesar, who was therefore Antonius' uncle. When Lentulus and the other conspirators were tried before the Senate, 63 B.C., L. Caesar voted for his brother-in-law's execution.

12. hunc: L. Caesar.

13. debuisses: subjunctive, as the clause is concessive (*cum* = "although").

14. similem: *sc. esse*, and *cp. viii. 11, cupit enim se audacem (esse)*. The simpler constructions would be respectively *maluisti similis esse* and *cupit audax esse*.

15. alienus: although *I* was not related to him (as *you* were).

16. ad eum . . . rettulisti: *cp.* the common phrase *ad senatum referre*, "to refer a matter to the Senate," *i.e.* "to consult the Senate about a matter."

19. descendit: *sc. in forum*, where stood the senate-house (*Curia*) and most of the public buildings. The *forum* was on a low level, while the dwelling houses were situated on higher ground. Hence *descendere*. **nataliciam:** *sc. cenam*, "a birthday feast."

20. Phormioni . . . Gnathoni . . . Ballioni: three characters from well-known Latin comedies. Phormio is a parasite who gives his name to the *Phormio* of Terence, Gnatho another parasite in Terence's *Eunuchus*, Ballio a still lower (*etiam*) character in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus. Cicero implies that the guest of the evening at any feast given by Antonius was probably a parasite, or worse.

25. referas: interrogative form of jussive subjunctive, known as the deliberative or dubitative subjunctive.

Ch. VII. 2. pudorem cum pudicitia: *pudor* is purity of mind, *pudicitia* purity of body.

3. **templo**: the temple of Concord (§ 19). It stood at the extreme N.W. end of the Forum, upon the lower slopes of the Capitoline Hill, up which ran the road called *Clivus Capitolinus*, the upward continuation of the *Via Sacra*. The Senate frequently met here instead of in the senate-house (*Curia*).

7. **quod tu non audeas**: consecutive subjunctive. **clivum Capitolinum**: see the last note. Antonius had apparently charged Cicero with intimidating the Senate by means of armed slaves, on the occasion of the famous meeting of December 5, 63 B.C., at which the Catilinarians were condemned.

9. **servorum**: it was unlawful to arm slaves for any purpose whatever, much more so for purposes of intimidation. **illa nefaria senatus consulta**: *i.e.* the decrees by which the five conspirators who had been arrested were condemned to death. *Nefaria* is either ironical, or possibly a quotation from Antonius' lips.

12. **qui . . . loquare**: subjunctive in causal clause depending on *misce*.

13. **eques Romanus**: the original *equites* of Rome were a limited number (never more than 1800) of citizens, whose exceptional wealth qualified them to bear the cost of the honourable service of cavalry. But as early as 133 B.C. they had ceased to perform any such service, and at the present time the name included all citizens owning property to the value of 400,000 sesterces, excepting those who belonged to the *ordo senatorius*; and their numbers included practically the whole of the merchants, bankers, and great moneyed interests of Rome. It followed that they were of very great influence in politics.

14. **qui . . . meminisset**: "if but he remembered." Cp. *qui . . . nosset*, iv. 3.

16. **in clivo Capitolino**: they gathered there, partly out of anxiety to hear the result of the debate in the Temple of Concord, partly to protect the senators in case of any attempt at violence on the part of those who sympathised with the arrested Catilinarians. **nomen . . . dedit**: *nomen dare* is "to give in one's name" as a volunteer for enrolment. On the occasion in question numbers of *boni* (*i.e.* loyalists) were enrolled for the protection of the government.

17. **quamquam**: "and yet" (all did not give their names, because, etc.); we should say, "why, there were not clerks enough." **scribae**: the clerks who took the names of the volunteers. **tabulae**: the "books" or "registers" in which the names of volunteers were entered.

18. **capere**: "to contain," "to hold," a common meaning.

19. **de patriae paricidio confiterentur**: "owned to their plot to destroy their country." The accusative and infinitive clause *se consensisse*, is expegetic or explanatory of *de patriae paricidio*. *Paricidium* includes all abominable crimes, especially those which outrage *pietas*, viz. the murder of a parent or betrayal of one's country. The connection of the word with *pater* (+ *caedo*) is, however, dubious. **consciorum . . . coacti**: they were "constrained" to confess by (1) the information given by their supposed accomplices, the Allobroges, who had turned "King's Evidence"; (2) the evidence of their own

handwriting and seals, in certain letters which were alleged to have been found upon the Allobroges.

20. *paene*: softens the boldness of the metaphor contained in *rox*.

25. *ducem*: Pompeius is meant, although he was at the time in Asia Minor.

26. *vitrici*: P. Lentulus Sura (see vi. 11).

28. *cui . . . superatum*: the meaning seems to be: He was for very good reasons my sworn foe, and I should have liked to believe that he was the worst man in Rome (for this would have been excuse for my dislike of him). As it is, I find he was not nearly so evil a man as you, whom I once called "friend."

30. *qui*: the interrogative adverb. Cp. *qui possis*, iv. 20.

33. *disciplina*: i.e. *evil* teaching. Apart from his alleged connection with the Catilinarians, Lentulus had certainly been expelled from the Senate for dissolute living.

Ch. VIII. 5. *scelere*: the conspiracy.

6. *quod totum est senatus*: "what belongs entirely to the Senate."

9. *eum*: Cicero. It is not unusual for dissyllabic prepositions to be put *after* the word which they govern. *eos*: the senators.

10. *cuius . . . audaciae . . . stultitiae*: for the predicative genitives cp. iii. 26.

13. *subsellia nostra*: the "benches" upon which the senators sat.

14. *armati*: see on iii. 32, iv. 14.

15. *quibus*: instrumental ablative.

16. *diem*: "date" or "time," and therefore feminine. In the sense of a fixed "day" it is usually masculine.

17. *qui tum*: the *equester ordo* naturally sided with the government against any party (here the Catilinarians) who desired revolution, for as merchants and men of business they valued above all else peace and security of property.

19. *dum*: "provided that," constructed, according to rule, with the subjunctive.

20. *Ityraeis*: the Ityraeans occupied a region between the eastern frontiers of the Roman Palestine and the Arabian desert. They were famous for their skill in archery, and some of them had apparently been brought over to Italy, either by Pompeius (who reduced Palestine in 63 B.C.) or by Antonius himself.

21. *quia . . . vides*: some editions read *qui* (or *cum*) . . . *videas*, the clause being still causal, as *qui . . . loquere* in vii. 12.

25. *loco*: "passage" of his speech against Cicero.

26. *in quo*: i.e. in his failure to show himself really witty.

27. *salis*: "wit," a regular meaning of *sal* (literally "salt"), as in the plural *sales* = "witticisms," and the adjective *salsus* (xvii. 7) "witty." The genitive is partitive, with *aliquid*. *mima uxore*: Cytheris, an actress, mentioned again in §§ 58, 69. As a *mima*, it was her business to be witty, and Antonius might have been expected to learn something of her wit. "*cedant arma togae*": the words *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi* ("Let arms give place to the

civic robe, the bays to merit bow") formed the opening line of the vainglorious poem which Cicero, having failed to induce better poets to undertake it, himself composed in honour of his own achievements as consul. The poem provoked nothing but ridicule, and Antonius had quoted it derisively. *Arma* is opposed to *toga* as the military to the civilian power (see the note on *togato*, vi. 9); and the real sense is that Cicero, the civilian consul, had proved himself a much greater person (by suppressing the Catilinarians) than any of the generals of the time. *cesserunt*: the word *cedant* above was used in the sense of "take second place." *Cesserunt* here (and *cessit* in the next clause) bears the different and less offensive sense of "make way for." Cicero, endeavouring to shuffle out of the charge of conceit to which the wording of his poem very justly laid him open, declares that Antonius does not understand his poetry (*omnino non nosse*) and has mistaken his meaning.

30. *sceleratorum*: the Catilinarians, whose "arms" were finally defeated at Pistoria, near Florence, in 62 B.C.

35. *monimentorum*: "writings" (which are the "monument" or "memorial" of their author).

36. *vigiliae*: "lucubrations," of one who "keeps awake" (*vigilare*) for purposes of study.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 21-24. *He says that it was I who killed Clodius. We all know that he tried to do so himself, and I confess I wish he had succeeded; but Milo required no encouragement from me. I own I was glad too when the deed was done. But why did not Antonius make these allegations years ago when the case was tried? He says much about my estranging Pompeius from Cuesar. I tried to do so, I admit, some fifteen years ago, and failed; but I never tried again. Twice, however, I tried to advise Pompeius: I warned him against extending Cuesar's commission; I warned him against allowing Cuesar to canvass in his absence. But when those two really threatened to quarrel, I did my best to prevent it. My failure was Antonius' opportunity.*

[Refer to the Index of Proper Names for Clodius and Pompeius.]

Ch. IX. 3. *cum . . . insecutus es*: the clause is purely temporal, and therefore the verb is in the indicative. *Transigisses* is hypothetical subjunctive, its clause being the apodosis of the conditional clause (protasis) *nisi . . . coniecisset*. The allusion is to an alleged attempt of Antonius to kill Clodius in the course of a riot, 53 B.C., when Antonius was a candidate for the quaestorship. See xx. 7. *Negotium transigere* or *rem transigere* (ix. 8) is a colloquial expression equivalent to the vulgar English "to finish a man's business for him," i.e. to kill him.

5. *iis oppilatis*: "by barricading them (the stairs) against you." Notice the peculiar and regular force of the compound verb.

6. *quod*: "in regard to which event." *Quod* is accusative of the extent of action of the verb (a variety of the internal accusative).

7. **at Miloni**: *at* here means "whereas," contrasting Cicero's feelings towards Milo, the actual murderer of Clodius, with those which he had entertained towards Antonius, the would-be murderer. Below, however, ix. 9, 11, *at* has the peculiar force explained in ii. 10.

8. **prius quam . . . suspicaretur**: the subjunctive is used after *priusquam* and *antequam* whenever the action expressed by its clause is *prevented* or (when the principal sentence is negative) *secured*. Thus, in the present instance, Milo is represented as purposely killing Clodius "before any one *could* foresee it."

10. **scilicet**: strongly sarcastic, as often.

13. **quamquam**: resumptive, as in iii. 2. The suggestion is, that if Cicero had been in any way responsible for, or unduly pleased at, the murder, there would have been ample opportunity to tax him with it when the case was tried (52 B.C.).

14. **non satis prudenter**: the trial of Milo for the murder of Clodius was conducted under a special law (the *Lex Pompeia de vi*) passed by Pompeius, then sole consul, to secure greater despatch. It was, therefore, a *nova lex*, and Cicero says the wisdom of such a procedure was doubtful, seeing that the existing laws (*e.g.* the *Lex Plautia de vi*) furnished ample provision for dealing with the case.

20. **quod**: direct object of *dicere*, amplified by the following clauses, *opera . . . datum*.

21. **Caesaris amicitia**: "friendship with Caesar." So *Caesaris coniunctione*, x. 3, "alliance with Caesar": *ep. mea familiaritate*, "intimacy with me," which shows the genitive to be really possessive.

22. **bellum civile**: the civil war which commenced with Caesar's passage of the Rubicon, 49 B.C., and ended with the final overthrow of the Pompeians (Republicans) at Munda, 45 B.C.

23. **maximum**: "of most importance."

24. **temporibus**: "in (the matter of) dates." *Re* and *temporibus* are ablatives of respect (a variety of the "local" ablative).

Ch. X. 1. M. Bibulo . . . consule: 59 B.C., when Caesar himself was the other consul.

4. **felicior**: in its usual sense of "luckier."

6. **totum**: adverbial use of *totus*, "entirely."

7. **conarer**: deliberative subjunctive. **stulti . . . impudentis**: predicative genitives; *ep. iv. 23. erat*: "it would have been (*or it were*)," an idiomatic use of the Latin indicative, as in the phrases *longum est dicere*, "it were a long matter to tell," *melius est tacere*, "it were better to be silent."

9. **suaserim**: according to rule, we should have expected an historic tense in the verb of the dependent clause answering to the historic tense (*inciderunt*) in the verb of the principal clause. But in *consecutive* clauses a perfect subjunctive is often found in dependence on a historic principal verb.

10. **velim reprehendas**: "I should like you to find fault with." The mood of *velim* is potential (in hypothetical sentence with protasis

suppressed); that of *reprehendus* is jussive, in semi-dependence on *velim*. The protasis *si potes* belongs to *reprehendus*, not to *velim*. **unum**: the accusative, like *alterum* in the next line, is syntactically in apposition with *ea*, object of *reprehendus*. In sense it is the object of the verb *suasi* understood. **quinquennii . . . prorogaret**: Caesar obtained the governorship of Illyricum and Gallia Cisalpina by the *Lex Iatinia*, passed in 59 B.C. (Gallia Transalpina being added later in the year by the Senate). This appointment was for five years, expiring March 1, 54 B.C.; but in 55 B.C. he persuaded Pompeius and Crassus, then consuls, to "extend (*prorogare*) the appointment for five years more."

11. ne pateretur . . . haberetur: "Not to permit the law to be passed which provided that account should be taken of him (Caesar) though absent." *Rationem habere*, "to take (a thing) into account," is a common phrase. The historical point involved is important. Caesar, in his consulship 59 B.C., had made bitter enemies among the Senatorial party, and notably in Cato. The recognised way of ruining a political opponent in Rome was to impeach him: for if condemned his ruin was complete; and if it did not seem likely that a conviction could be obtained, the prosecutor had only to serve his enemy with notice of trial, and thereby debar him from holding office until the case was tried. If, therefore, his enemies could impeach Caesar, he was a ruined man. Now so long as a man held public office, either as a magistrate of Rome or as a provincial governor, he could not be impeached. Therefore Caesar's enemies were bound to postpone their attack upon him until he had ceased to be governor of the Gauls and Illyricum (not later than March 1, 49 B.C.). As soon as that happened, he would be *privatus* once more, and therefore at their mercy. Caesar knew what to expect. His only legal means of escaping impeachment was so to arrange matters that the moment he ceased to be governor of Gaul, he should enter upon another magistracy, viz. the consulship of 48 B.C., and that his command in Gaul should be continued up to the very last day of 49 B.C. The latter he effected by securing that no successor should be nominated who could take his place before January 1, 48 B.C.: the former was more difficult to realise, because the law required that any one who desired to canvass for the consulship must do so in person, i.e. must come to Rome to do so; while another law ruled that any governor of a province who left the limits of his province before the termination of his term of command, was guilty of treason, and moreover became *privatus*. Caesar got out of the dilemma by inducing Pompeius to secure the passing of a *privilegium*, a special enactment exempting Caesar from the necessity of coming to Rome to canvass for the consulship of 48 B.C.

18. compositionis: "arrangement."

21. fuit: "would have been." Cp. *erat*, x. 7, note.

24. tuis flagitiis . . . infamia: the ablatives are instrumental, "by reason of your abominations," etc.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 25-36. *Antonius asserts that it was I who slew Caesar! This is praise indeed, and I only wish it were true. But did a*

Brutus, did a Cassius, with their memories of Tarquin expelled and Mælius slain, need me to urge them on? Had not Cassius sought to do the deed long ago in Cilicia? Had not Domitius reason enough, without advice of mine? And Trebonius, Cimber, the Servilii, and all the rest of that glorious band—what need had they of my poor services? But says Antonius: "Brutus raised the dagger aloft and bade Cicero rejoice that the State was free again." Of course, for he had done what once I did—had saved the State. And surely, if it be wrong to rejoice over the deed, we are all in the wrong together. We all rejoiced over it, for we all desired it. Therefore Brutus too was in the wrong. Yet says Antonius: "Of Brutus I speak with all respect." Was there ever such inconsistency? Come, Antonius, collect your wits and tell us what you mean: Was Brutus right or wrong? Are you for liberty, or against it? Right or wrong Brutus and his fellows must have been: but if right, they are our liberators; if wrong, they are worse than the foulest murderers. But if so, why name them "with all respect?" Why give them privileges and provinces? Evidently you consider they were right; for you cannot escape the dilemma. It was the most glorious deed of all, and you deem me worthy to rank with those that did it! I thank you for thus ranking me with the immortals. But had I been really in the plot I would have put an end once and for all not to Caesar alone, but to Caesarism as well. And by the way, did not Trebonius once invite you too to aid in the plot? And pray who reaped the benefit of it, you or they? Have you not taken Caesar's place and powers? Are you not wearing fat on forgeries of his name? Was not Caesar's death the one thing that could and did save you from bankruptcy? The case looks bad against you, but have no fear! No man would ever dream that you were capable of a deed so noble!

[Refer to the Index of Proper Names for Brutus, Ahala, Cassius, Servilius, Domitius, and Trebonius.]

Ch. XI. 1. *illud*: refers to the following accusative and infinitive clause, as in viii. 10.

3. *prævaricatorem*: a *prævaricator* is one who, while pretending to look after the interests of a client, secretly abets the client's opponent, i.e. is guilty of collusion. Translate "a collusive adversary." Cicero means that the murder of Caesar was so glorious a deed, that to be accused of promoting it is no discredit, but wholly a compliment.

5. *alienis*: in its strict sense of "belonging to others." *societate* . . . *facti*: "amongst those who shared that famous deed." *Societas* is abstract for concrete (*socii*), and the genitive is objective. Cp. *consilii societatem*, xiii. 30.

6. *qui . . . fuisset*: subjunctive in consecutive clause.

8. *citius dixerim*: potential subjunctive (see x. 10), "I would sooner say."

9. *ut . . . viderentur*: the clause has full final force, and must not be made to depend upon *iactasse*.

10. *cum fuissent*: subjunctive in concessive clause (*cum* = "although"). *quam ut*: the clause depends upon *citius dixerim* and

the accusative and infinitive would therefore be more natural (parallel to *iactasse se aliquos*). There was, however, a tendency to prefer *quam ut* to simple *quam*; e.g. *moriatur potius quam ut inhoneste vivamus*, "Let us rather die than live in dishonour."

11. *fuisset*: subjunctive in consecutive clause.

13. *neminem occultantibus*: "who could keep secret *the name of* no one."

15. *illis auctoribus*: ablative of attendant circumstances, "when such men as they were the instigators." *impellerem*: "was it needful that I should persuade?" the subjunctive being the deliberative variety of the jussive. *Brutos*: viz. Marcus and Decimus. It was to the interests of those who defended Caesar's murder to speak of them as descendants of the famous L. Junius Brutus, who, to avenge the rape of Lucretia, led the revolt which drove the Tarquins out and made Rome free (510 B.C.). But L. Junius Brutus was a patrician, and his line ended with his two sons whom he was said to have caused to be put to death for intriguing with the exiled Tarquins; whereas the *Iunia gens*, to which Marcus and Decimus belonged, was plebeian, and in no way related to the other.

16. *imaginem*: alluding to the custom of decorating the *atrium* of the Roman house with busts or medallions representing ancestors of noble rank. If Marcus and Decimus really possessed a so-called *imago* of L. Brutus, they had no right to it. *alter*: Marcus Brutus, whose mother was a Servilia. See Index, s.v. SERVILIUS. *videret*: subjunctive because dependent upon another subjunctive.

17. *his maioribus*: for the ablative, cp. *illis auctoribus*, xi. 15.

18. *foris*: here ablative of place whence (used, like names of towns, etc., without a preposition). But more commonly *foris* is ablative of place where "(at) outside," "abroad," parallel to *domi*, "at home." It is the plural ablative of the archaic *fora* (= *θύρα* = "door"), in Classical Latin *foris*, third declension.

19. *quae . . . potuit*: "which could brook not only *not* (i.e. I do not say) the tyranny, but not even the predominance of any man." When *non modo* precedes *ne . . . quidem*, and the predicate (here *ferre potuit*) of both clauses is the same, *non modo* = *non modo non*, the second *non* being omitted. *Potentia* differs from *dominatus* as "excessive influence" from "absolutism," "despotism." The allusion is to the fate of Sp. Cassius, who is alleged to have excited such jealousy amongst the patricians (486 B.C.) by his generosity to the plebeians, and by his agrarian proposals in the plebeians' interest, that they gave out he was aiming at the kingship, and caused him to be executed, his own father being one of the leaders in the prosecution.

21. *credo*: parenthetical and ironical, as often.

22. *hanc rem*: e.g. the assassination of Caesar. *in Cilicia*: Caesar was at Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, in 47 B.C., but nothing is known of the plot to murder him there, of which Cicero here speaks.

23. *ille*: Caesar.

24. *quam* = *ad quam*.

25. *patris*: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, killed at Pharsalus.

26. *avunculi*: M. Porcius Cato, whose sister Porcia was mother of Cn. Domitius. *spoliatio dignitatis*: "loss of position." He voluntarily withdrew from public life after the battle of Pharsalus, but does not seem to have suffered any positive deprivation of dignity.

31. *unius*: "one man's friendship," the genitive *unius* being possessive, as in the phrase *Cesaris coniunctio*, x. 3.

35. *beneficiorum*: the kindness which he had received from Caesar.

36. *Cascae dicam an Ahalas*: for the *familia Casca* and the *familia Ahala* both belonged to the *gens Servilia*.

38. *caritate rei publicae*: "affection for their country," the genitive being objective. *longum est*: "it would be a long matter." See the note on *erat*, x. 7.

39. *fuisse tam multos*: "viz. that there were so many of them," the accusative and infinitive clause is explanatory of *id*.

Ch. XII. 2. *coarguerit*: subjunctive of indirect question.

5. *ei . . . libertatem*: this is the normal construction of *gratulari*, viz. an accusative of the thing, a dative of the person. *Recuperatam libertatem* = "the recovery of (our) freedom."

6. *vide ne fuerit*: "see that it was not," i.e. "perhaps it was" (just as *vide ut fuerit* = perhaps it was not). Cp. xiv. 15. Cicero is sarcastically warning Antonius that what the latter advances as much to Cicero's discredit, may after all prove to be greatly to his credit.

8. *rebus iis*: the act of the conspirators in freeing Rome from Caesar is compared to Cicero's achievement in getting rid of Catilina.

9. *laudium*: the regular genitive plural of *laus* is *laudum*.

11. *voluisse interfici Caesarem*: "the mere fact of having wished for Caesar's death." The words stand as subject to *crimen sit*. Similarly in the next clause *lactatum esse morte Caesaris* forms the subject to *crimen esse*. *crimen*: not "a crime," but "matter of accusation." *sit*: subjunctive of reported condition, "if, as you say, it is a matter for accusation."

17. *ergo*: the argument postulates that the preceding question is answered with an emphatic "no." *boni*: "patriots."

20. *pecudis*: an unreasoning "animal," as contrasted with *homo*, intelligent man, the point being not that Antonius is bestial, but that he is "as stupid as an ass."

21. *honoris causa*: "for the sake of (showing) esteem," "by way of compliment only," "with all respect."

24. *quem*: the antecedent is *ego*. *ille . . . is*: the repetition of the demonstrative conveys emphasis.

27. *constitue*: the word is chosen in allusion to its technical sense corresponding to *constitutiones*, "rulings" or "decisions" of magistrates on doubtful points of law, etc. The addition of the style *consul*, i.e. greatest of magistrates, lends further point to the sneer. *Hoc* refers to the relative clause (*quam . . . eausam*) which follows.

29. *crapulam*: the "fumes" of last night's debauch. Hence *exhala*.

30. *quae excitent*: final. The object *indormientem* (to which *te* must not be supplied) is purposely indefinite, "the man who can go to sleep over a question so momentous." *Causae* is of course dative.

Ch. XIII. 2. *punctum*: accusative of duration of time.

4. *nisi . . . sint*: subjunctive as a dependent clause in *Oratio Obliqua*, it being a part of the admission introduced by *confiteor*.

7. *siquidem*: either (1) "since," which is the usual meaning in Cicero, or (2) "if indeed."

9. *quid dicis*: "what do you call them?" With *si parricidus* in the next clause, *sc. dicis*.

11. *referente te*: "on your motion." For this technical sense of *referre*, see on vi. 16. *legibus est solutus*: "exempted from the law." As *praetor urbanus* (44 B.C.) M. Brutus could not legally be absent from Rome for more than ten days. On the motion of Antonius, however, a *privilegium* had been passed, releasing him from these limitations of time.

12. *Iudi Apollinares*: the public games in honour of Apollo occupied the whole of the second week in July, and were given under the superintendence of the *praetor urbanus* for the year. M. Brutus, however, did not preside in person, being at the time absent from Rome (see last note).

13. *incredibili . . . honore*: ablative of attendant circumstances, "with unheard-of tributes to Brutus," the genitive being objective. As a matter of fact, Brutus, who had hoped to make political capital out of his presidency of the games and thereby obtain some pronounced expression of popular feeling in his favour, was entirely disappointed.

14. *provinciae*: Crete and Cyrene. Brutus received the former instead of Macedonia, and Cassius the latter instead of Syria, both on the proposal of Antonius. *quaestores additi*: alluding apparently to the fact that Antonius, on removing Brutus and Cassius to inferior provinces, gave to each, by way of empty compliment, an unusual number of attendant *quaestores* and *legati*. Every provincial governor was attended by a *quaestor* representing the Treasury, but usually by one only.

15. *legatorum*: "adjutants" or "aides-de-camp." As with the *quaestores*, so with the *legati*; according as they were more or fewer the dignity of the governor was enhanced or diminished.

16. *homicidas*: *sc. dicis*. *liberatores*: *sc. dicas*. This was the name by which the assassins of Caesar delighted to style themselves, as having "freed" Rome from his tyranny.

19. *quae diiunctur dicuntur*: "what is stated pretty much in the form of a dilemma." *Diiunctus* (= logically opposed), like its Greek equivalent *dilemma*, is a logical term applied to such alternatives as *e.g.* "A is either B or not-B." So here: "Brutus and Cassius are either murderers or not-murderers." But inasmuch as the strict form of the alternative ("not-murderers") is replaced by a less logical term ("liberators"), Cicero correctly uses the comparative *diiunctus* in lieu

of the simple positive *diiuncte*—"somewhat like a dilemma" instead of bluntly "in the form of a dilemma."

22. **retexo**: "unweave," and so "retract" or "withdraw." So *refigo* = "unfasten," *recludo* = "open." **scribam**: the order is *scribam ad illos ut ne cui negent, si qui forte quaerent, sitne verum, quod . . . obiectum est*. *Ut ne* is not seldom found in lieu of *ne* only. *Scribo* in meaning = *impero*, and therefore takes the construction of that verb.

25. **celatum**: sc. *esse, me* being the subject to the infinitive and the object being left unexpressed, "the fact that I was kept in ignorance (of the plot)."

27. **pro**: an exclamation, and independent of the syntax.

30. **consilii societatem**: see on xi. 5, note. **in equum Troianum**: alluding to the fable that Troy was at last captured by the stratagem of the Wooden Horse, enclosed within which the picked warriors of the Greeks made their way into the town. To have been admitted to the conspiracy, says Cicero, was a compliment as great as to have been selected to join the heroes who entered the Wooden Horse.

32. **quoquo animo facis**: "whatever your reason for doing so."

35. **expulsos**: banished from Italy. **relegatos**: sent a certain distance from Rome without loss of civic rights.

37. **qui . . . videatur**: consecutive subjunctive (*qui* = *ut is*). So in the next sentences, *qui . . . putent, quae . . . prosequantur*.

41. **litterae**: "literature," that is, the various "histories" of the event, which were still to be written.

Ch. XIV. 2. ne non probes: "that you may decline to approve"; *non* with *probes* forms one predication, stronger than the simple compound *improbes*.

4. **stilus**: the word has two senses, (1) the usual sense of "a pen," (2) the rarer one of "a dagger," cp. Italian "stiletto." Cicero here puns upon the double meaning. The Roman "pen" was a straight piece of metal with one end pointed, for incising the letters upon the tablets of waxed wood (*pugillares*) which formed the usual writing material, the other end flattened to a broad square edge, for erasing and re-smoothing the wax.

5. **actum . . . fabulam**: Cicero implies that, by simply murdering Caesar, the assassins left their work unfinished. It should have been completed by the further murder of Caesar's henchman Antonius.

7. **Narbone**: ablative of place where. Narbo Marcius, now Narbonne, on the shore of the Gulf of Lyons, west of Marseilles, was the capital of the province of Gallia Narbonensis, roughly corresponding to Provence. Trebonius had sounded Antonius upon the subject of Caesar's murder, at Narbo, in the preceding year, 45 B.C. Antonius had refused to have anything to do with the matter, and this explains why Trebonius, at the moment of the murder, took steps to get Antonius out of the way (*sevocare*). It also proves Cicero's assertion, that Antonius had himself been privy to the plot (*consilium cepisse*), to be unfounded.

13. **quaerebat**: "required," "called for." The order of the words

shows *virum* to be emphatic, and it must be so rendered. *Vir* (connected with *virtus*) means a *manly* man, not a coward.

14. *illud Cassianum*: "the well-known question of Cassius." The person referred to is L. Cassius Longinus, tribune of the people 137 B.C., a man famous for his strictness as a judge. *cui bono fuerit*: literally "to whom was it for a benefit?" i.e. "who got the benefit?" The clause explains the preceding words *illud Cassianum, bono* being predicative dative and *fuerit* subjunctive of indirect question dependent upon some verb of asking understood. Obviously the first step in seeking to discover the author of an act, is to ask, "Who gains by it?" the presumption being that the gainer is also the contriver.

15. *vide ne haereas*: "have a care that you be not at a loss." Cp. xii. 6. With this meaning of *haerere*, cp. the colloquial English "to be stuck fast for an idea."

18. *aere alieno*: "other people's money," i.e. "borrowed money," and so "debt." *ad aedem Opis*: Ops ("Plenty") was the wife of Saturnus, and their joint temple, standing close beside the temple of Concord (vii. 3), was used for the Public Treasury. Shortly after Caesar's death, Antonius seized all the money there deposited, to the amount of 700,000,000 sesterces (£6,500,000). See xxxvii. 1.

19. *tabulas*: the "account books" of the Treasury.

21. *tam multa*: notably all Caesar's papers, notes, etc., the *commentarii* and *chirographa* of the next sentence.

22. *falsorum*: "forged." Cp. iv. 19, *scientiam quaestuosam*, and Introduction, § 7. *civitatum*: for the form of the genitive (-ium for -um), cp. *laudium*, xii. 9.

24. *nundinae*: properly "ninth day," or "market-day"; here "trafficking."

26. *nescio quid conturbatus*: "somewhat confused," *nescio* in this usage merely intensifying the force of the indefinite pronoun or adjective, without affecting the syntax. *Videris* is therefore present indicative instead of subjunctive.

27. *subtimes*: the force of the compound is "have a *sneaking* fear." *hoc crimen*: the charge of conspiring against Caesar. As Antonius profitted the most by it, he ought, says Cicero, according to Cassius' test, to be the person responsible.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 37-43. *You taunt me with my conduct in Pompeius' camp. But I foresaw what was about to happen, and I was sorry for it. It was sorrow for the State, not fear for my own safety, that made me miserable; and I desired peace at whatever price. My advice was rejected, and to that fact you owe your presence here. Yet Pompeius, though he could not follow my advice, remained always my friend. We differed only in policy. Even at the last, when he was flying for his life, he said nothing but good of me. How dare you fling in my teeth the name of him into whose inheritance you have stolen like a thief? As for your assertion that I receive no legacies, it is untrue, though true that I receive none of so curious a sort as came to you from men whom you have never*

seen. I might retort further that I never publicly declared my own father a bankrupt, as you did. And if you cannot find worse charges than these to allege against me, I would advise you to find a better man than your present instructor in oratory, who is scarcely worth the fees which you pay him—at our expense!

Ch. XV. 1. castra . . . Pompei: “what happened in Pompeius’ camp.” So *illud omne tempus*, “all that befell in those days.” Cicero actually joined Pompeius in Epirus, and remained in camp with him for some weeks, before he marched out towards Pharsalus.

3. consilium auctoritasque: he appears to have counselled peace at any price, but as a matter of fact he had no practicable suggestions to make, and querulously found fault with every thing and every one alike. This was probably the point of Antonius’ taunts on the subject.

7. quanta: = *in quanta*. Cp. *quam* = *ad quam*, xi. 24.

11. animo: ablative of respect, “in spirit.”

12. manens: the participle (= *si maneret*) does duty as protasis to *conficeret*, as in the next clause *dimissa* (= *si dimissa esset*) to *liberaret*.

14. lumina: for the metaphor, cf. our “shining light.”

15. praetorios: “ex-praetors,” “men of praetorian rank.”

16. florem: we have the same metaphor. Caesar says that the loss on Pompeius’ side at Pharsalus was 15,000.

17. quamvis: to be joined closely with *iniqua*, “terms of peace however unfair.” Thus used, *quamvis* does not, of course, affect the mood of its clause (*teneremus* being hypothetical subjunctive, the apodosis to *si viverent*).

22. ut alia omittam: “not to mention other results.” The subjunctive is in reality final.

24. at: see ii. 10, note.

26. sermones: “conversation,” “talk” (*sermo* = *serimo*, from *sero*, “join” = “a colloquy”).

27. quidem: “assuredly.”

29. ego quid ille: the full expression would be *ego videbam quid ille sentiret et spectaret, et contra ille, etc.*

30. incolumitati . . . dignitati: contrasted as “security” and “honour.”

32. habebat . . . quid sequeretur: “knew what were his aims.” The use of *habere* in this sense (like *ἔχειν* in Greek) is fairly common.

36. de Pharsalia fuga: literally “straight from his Pharsalian rout,” i.e. the rout at Pharsalus. So *de itinere*, “straight from, fresh from, the march,” often in Caesar.

37. Paphum: Paphos in Cyprus, famous of old as a principal seat of the worship of Aphrodite (Venus). Pompeius touched there in his flight towards Egypt.

41. sectorem: *sectio* (xxvi. 12) denoted a public sale of confiscated property, *sector*, one who purchases such property, a “broker.” The derivation is dubious, either from *secure*, “to cut up,” or from *sequi* “to pursue.” Cicero here adopts the latter view, playing upon the

assonance between *sector* and *insectari* (*sectari*, frequentative of *sequi*). It does not seem possible to keep up the pun in English.

Ch. XVI. 6. animis : ablative of respect.

10. hereditates : in Rome the bequeathing of legacies was a favourite way of marking one's appreciation of one's friends. This statement of Antonius was an insinuation that Cicero had few admirers.

11. esset : the past tense indicates that the wish is not capable of realisation.

12. viverent : potential subjunctive. The suppressed protasis is easily supplied from the preceding clause (e.g. *si verum esset crimen*). *qui* : "how?"

13. sestertium ducentiens : " $(200 \times 100,000 =)$ 20,000,000 sesterces," or about £180,000. The figures are not incredible, in view of Cicero's position at the very top of his profession—the most important profession in Rome. Where a numeral adverb is joined to *sestertium* (= *sestertiorum*), the words *centena milia* are almost invariably omitted, and *sestertium* is treated as a declinable singular substantive, instead of an archaic plural genitive. *Amplius* is parenthetic, "twenty millions or more." *acceptum . . . rettuli* : "entered to my credit by legacies." See the note on v. 39.

15. genere : sc. of money-making.

18. Casinas : (genitive, *Casinatis*) "of Casinum," which was one of the small hill-towns of southern Latium, situated on the Via Latina near to the frontiers of Campania, about eighty miles from Rome.

19. albus aterne fuerit : *utrum* is to be supplied before *albus*. As the sequence is primary, what was an *historic* tense (imperfect indicative) in the direct question (*utrum albus erat, aterne?*) is represented in indirect form by a *primary* tense (perfect subjunctive), according to rule. The expression is a proverbial one to signify absolute ignorance.

20. Q. Fufi : sc. *filium*, from the previous clause.

21. factitarat : "had represented" as his heir.

24. dicas : jussive subjunctive in semi-dependence on the potential *velim*. **L. Turselius** : another of those who were alleged to have made Antonius their legatee. The insinuation which Cicero makes is, obviously, that Antonius got the property by foul means.

28. alienissimorum : "in no way related to you." Cp. *alienus*, vi. 15.

31. hereditatem . . . adisses : "refused to take possession of the estate bequeathed to you by your father," because the liabilities attaching to it outweighed its value, or in plainer language, because it was bankrupt. There was no law to compel a Roman to accept (*adire*) a bequest or inheritance, and naturally if the debts upon it swallowed up the assets, he would decline it. But when the estate concerned was the *family* estate of the legatee, it was a point of honour with gentlemen to accept the inheritance, because refusal was tantamount to

declaring the testator bankrupt. But Antonius, says Cicero, had not the feelings of a gentleman.

Ch. XVII. 1. *haec*: "such accusations as these (the foregoing)."

2. *aliena*: a country house at Tibur, which had belonged to Q. Metellus Scipio, Pompeius' father-in-law, who died at Thapsus.

5. *magistrum*: Sextus Clodius. See the note on *magistro*, iv. 21. *suffragio tuo*: the ablative is a variety of that of cause.

7. *salsum*: "witty." Cp. the use of *sal* = "wit," viii. 27. *materia*: "theme," a fairly common meaning. If *materia* be taken in this sense, the infinitive *dicere* is perfectly natural as subject of the sentence. Others prefer to render *materia* by "opportunity," "scope," in which case the infinitive has to be explained as epexegetic, the more usual construction being the genitive gerund (or gerundive).

8. *dicta*: "witty speeches." Cp. *dicax*, "witty."

9. *avum*: M. Antonius, murdered in the Marian Proscription of 87 B.C. Cicero elsewhere praises him as a pattern of well-chosen and well-delivered oratory. *prodesset*: subjunctive in consecutive clause.

12. *ingerum*: genitive plural, the word being heteroclitc (singular, stem *ingero*-; plural, stem *inger*-).

13. *Leontini*: from the adjective *Leontinus*, -a, -um, "belonging to Leontini," a town on the east coast of Sicily, some twenty miles north of Syracuse. The misconduct of Antonius lay, not in the quantity of land given (about 1200-1300 acres), but in the fact that it was *ager publicus*, and therefore belonged to the State, not to Antonius. This explains *populi Romani mercede*.

14. *immunia*: "tax-free." The *ager publicus* in Sicily was properly liable to a tithe-rent (*decumae*) of all the produce.

15. *hoc*: a governing verb, e.g. *fecisti*, is easily supplied.

16. *ex*: "in accordance with." For the *commentarii* in question, see xiv. 22. *alio loco*: in xxxix. 20, *sqq.*

18. *possessoribus*: "tenants." The occupier of *ager publicus* was always possessor, never *dominus* ("owner"), for the *dominus* of *ager publicus* was the State.

20. *emendatore et correctore*: ironical.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 44-50. *Let me sketch your life throughout. Ere you came of age you were bankrupt. You were hand and glove with Curio, who lent you his money and ruined your morals, though I did my best to rescue you from his clutches. Your private life is, however, too unpleasant a theme: I will go on to speak of your public career. You began it as Clodius' evil spirit. You continued it as Gabinius' agent—like master, like man!—defying the Senate and defying Heaven. From Egypt you went to Gaul, and obtained Caesar's help in seeking office. Thanks to him—and to me—you obtained a quaestorship, and forthwith went back to your new master to refill your empty purse; then reappeared in Rome to ask for a tribuneship and do even as did your teacher Curio.*

[Refer to the Index of Proper Names for Curio, Clodius, and Gabinius.]

Ch. XVIII. 1. *visne . . . inspiciamus*: for the construction, cp. *velim reprehendas*, x. 10. In the next line, *ordiamur* is direct jussive. a *puero*: "from (your) boyhood."

3. *praetextatum*: "while you were still under age, or still a minor." The *praetexta*, a particular form of *toga* ornamented with a broad purple hem, was the characteristic dress of free-born boys up to the time of their formal "coming of age," when they assumed the *toga virilis*. This was at some time between the fifteenth and seventeenth year, and *praetextatus* means literally "wearing the *praetexta*." *decoxisse*: "went bankrupt," a metaphor from "boiling down" a fluid until little or nothing remains. Hence *decoctor*, line 6, "a bankrupt."

4. *pietatis plena defensio*: another piece of irony. See note on *hereditatem ulisses*, xvi. 32.

5. in *quattuordecim ordinibus*: in the fourteen rows of seats expressly set apart in the theatre for the use of the *Equites* (vii. 13), by the provisions of the *Lex Roscia* of L. Roscius Otho, tribune in 67 B.C. The seats of the *Equites* were the fourteen rows immediately behind the *orchestra*, where the magistrates and senators sat.

6. *esset*: subjunctive in concessive clause (*cum* = "although").

7. *quis*: "a man." The indefinite *quis* is commonly found only after *si*, *ne*, *nisi*, and *quando*.

8. *virilem*: sc. *togam*, and see the note on *praetextatum*, line 3. *Sumere virilem togam* means "to come of age."

13. *cum*: "whereas," "while."

17. *pater Curio*: "the elder Curio."

20. *sestertium sexagiens*: "(60 × 100,000 =) six millions of sesterces," about £50,000. The subject of *petere* is *pater*. Curio the younger had advanced the money to Antonius, and the elder Curio was threatening to take legal action against Antonius to recover it. Whereupon the younger Curio begged Cicero to undertake the defence of Antonius. Hence the reading of most editions, *se (Curionem) contra suum* instead of *te (Antonium)* etc., is wrong.

21. *intercessisse*: "had guaranteed."

23. *desiderium tui discidii*: the genitive is possessive, "sorrow or regret belonging to your separation, i.e. "the sorrow of separation from you." The subjunctive *posset* is that of reported cause.

28. *rei familiaris*: "property," as usual. *Facultates* is common in the sense of "means," "resources."

29. *patrio*: in strict Roman law the father had absolute control over the son's person and property, regardless of his age, and could even order his execution. This was known as *patria potestas*.

31. *illis, quos videmus, gladiis*: i.e. the swords of Antonius' bullies, mentioned above, iv. 14, viii. 14.

Ch. XIX. 2. *honeste*: "without dishonour." The word has nothing to do with "honest," in the usual sense of that term.

3. *ea in te admisisti*: we say "committed yourself to."

7. *quae*: the object of *audiat*.

11. *incidamus*: "cut short," "curtail." The adjectives *media* and *extrema* are both substantival.

13. in *tribunatu*: "when *Clodius* was tribune," in 58 B.C. *qui*: referring to the suppressed subject of *erat*, viz. *Antonius*, to whom therefore *sua* also refers, while *eius* goes back to *Clodius* again.

14. *incendiorum fax*: both words are metaphorical.

15. *quiddam molitus est*: "had some intrigue a-foot," with *Clodius'* wife *Fulvia*, whom he afterwards married.

16. *Alexandream*: accusative of the goal of motion, depending upon the verbal notion in *iter*. The place meant is the modern *Alexandria* in Egypt.

17. *contra . . . religiones*: see Index, *s.v.* *GABINIUS*.

18. *quicum . . . posset*: the subjunctive is potential, "and under such a leader he might have committed any sin you please with perfect propriety." Cicero only means that *Gabinus* was as bad as *Antonius*.

19. *qui . . . qualis*: the two interrogatives are scarcely distinguishable in English. Perhaps "what was the manner and fashion of his home-coming?"

20. *prius*: a verb must be supplied from *reditus*. *Antonius'* roundabout journey "from Egypt to Rome *via* Gaul" enabled him to visit *Caesar* in the latter province and make arrangements (probably by way of a loan) for his election as quaestor. The date is 54 B.C.

22. *tum*: "in those days," i.e. before civil war and confiscation had made other men homeless to provide *Antonius* with treasure and villas.

24. *Misenum*: the extreme N.W. promontory of the Bay of Naples. *Antonius* had a villa there. *quod cum sociis*: "and even of that, as though it were another *Sisapo*, you were only joint owner with your fellow-shareholders." *Sisapo* was a cinnabar-mine in Southern Spain. It was worked by a company (*societas*), who leased it from the State. *Antonius*, says Cicero, had one solitary bit of property, and even this was not his own, for he had to share it with his creditors.

Ch. XX. 2. *ad quaesturam petendam*: the elections of the quaestors occurred at the close of the year before that in which they held office. As *Antonius* was quaestor in 53 B.C., he must have been back in Rome towards the end of 54 B.C.

3. *parentem*: *Julia*.

4. *ut*: "begging that," the construction with *ut* being naturally used, as *litteras acceperam* = "I had had a letter asking," "I had been requested by letter." *satis fieri*: the passive of *satis facere*, which occurs below, line 11. As *satis facere* = "to make amends" to a person, *satis fieri* = "to have satisfaction offered" to one. It was part of *Caesar's* policy to disarm the hostility of Cicero, the only able man of the Republican party, by an affectation of deference and consideration.

6. *observatus*: literally "watched," "attended to"; here "assisted."

8. *es conatus occidere*: see above, ix. 3, *sqq.*

9. *conarere*: subjunctive in concessive clause.

13. *rem illam*: the murder of Clodius. So again, line 15. *ultro*: "of your own accord," as usual.

14. *quoniam*: the following causal clause gives the reason for *numquam sim adhortatus*. *si . . . perseverares*: the clause stands as protasis to an apodosis implied in the word *referri*; "had you persevered, the deed would have been put down to your credit, rather than to any influence of mine,—and I preferred that it should be so."

15. *eo*: referring to *illud*, line 13.

17. *senatus consulto . . . sorte . . . lege*: the three legitimate methods for determining what the elected quaestor should do, *i.e.* what was to be his *provincia*. The majority, if not all of the appointments, were made by lot (*sorte*); but a quaestor might receive a commission *extra ordinem* either by a *senatus consultum* or by a *lex* of the people. Antonius took upon himself to choose his own *provincia*, and proceeded at once to Gaul to Caesar.

20. *rationibus*: = *faультatibus*, "means."

22. *texhaurire*: a conjectural addition to the text. Others read *sorbere* (in the same sense) or *corripere*; and some such word is necessary to complete the syntax and the sense.

23. *tribunatum*: the tribuneship of 49 B.C., the year of the commencement of the Civil War. *viri tui*: *i.e.* Curio, tribune the year before (50 B.C.). Curio and Antonius by their violent support of Caesar were mainly responsible for the final breach between the latter and Pompeius.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 50-63. *It was your conduct as tribune that brought on the Civil War. You sold yourself to Caesar, and drove the Senate to declare you a menace to the State. You blocked every motion that made for peace, prevented all attempts at conciliation, and provided Caesar with his only excuse for treason and war. Of all the manifold disasters that have befallen us thereby, you alone are the cause. You have proved yourself to Rome what Helen was to Troy—its ruin. Even in your villainies you had no sense of equity. You could recall from exile knaves of the worst character, but for your own kith and kin you had no pity. You had more mercy for an alien and a gambler than for your own uncle. Your time of office was a disgrace to yourself and to Italy—the tribune on tour with his retinue of dancers and toppers and worse! That was the year in which you "saved my life" at Brundisium. Well: I thank you for that mercy: we will let it pass. What a noble conqueror you were! Surely every man that fought for you, repented him of it, when he saw you again in your dancer's arms, again on tour amongst our decent country-folk, looting and pillaging right and left;—saw, forsooth, the Master of the Horse turned Job-muster, and prostituting his high office to save himself from beggary! The Master of the Horse—save the mark!—who reproduced his dinner of yesternight on the magistrate's bench, before the eyes of Rome!*

Ch. XXI. 1. in se: *in* here means "to the damage of," and so throughout the sentence.

4. *fecerit*: after *accipite ea quae* the normal construction would be *fecit*. On the other hand after *accipite quae* (where *accipite*, as often, means simply "hear") the subjunctive (of indirect question) is required. *Fecerit*, therefore, coming in the second clause, is accommodated naturally to the syntax of that clause, and with the preceding clause *fecit* must be understood.

6. *Kalendis Ianuariis*: Jan. 1, 49 B.C., on which date Q. Cassius and Antonius vetoed the resolution of the Senate that Caesar should be forthwith called upon to disband his army, on pain of outlawry. This decree was the only answer vouchsafed by the Senate to Caesar's own offer to disarm, if Pompeius would also disarm; it, therefore, amounted to a most offensive ultimatum.

9. *iste*: Antonius. *emancipatum*: "sold out of Antonius' hands into the hands of another," and so "enslaved," a very different meaning from that of our word "emancipated," which means "set free" from one person *without being delivered over* to another.

11. *securi*: the "axe" of Justice, alluding to the investiture of the magistrates with the powers of life and death, in the case of some grave domestic crisis. This, tantamount to declaring martial law, replaced the older course of naming a Dictator. The decree which authorised it was known as the *Senatus Consultum Ultimum*, and its formula was simply *Videant (or Dent operam) Consules* (sometimes also *Practores, tribuni plebis, proconsuls and propraetors*) *ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat*, "let the consuls see to it that the government be not harmed." It was passed 49 B.C. against Caesar and the two tribunes who supported him.

12. *et quidem incolumis*: "and that too while its ranks were as yet unthinned" by the Civil War.

13. *luminibus*: cp. xv. 14.

14. *togatum*: see the note as vi. 9. It is here equivalent to *domesticus* as opposed to *externus*.

16. *conservator*: cp. i. 19, *rei publicae conservatae testimonium*.

19. *dum . . . exstabit*: meaning "all the time that," *dum* may be joined with any tense, present, past, or future.

21. *intercessio*: "veto." See above, on line 6, and iii. 31.

22. *cupide*: "hotly," "zealously," "in a partisan spirit." *cum*: "at the time when," the mood of *prohibuisti* showing that the clause is purely temporal.

25. *tecum . . . agi*: "any discussion with you as to the decision of the House." *Auctoritas senatus* means sometimes the *fiat*, command, or authorisation, of the Senate; sometimes, as here, a resolution of the Senate, which, albeit recorded in the books of the House, was rendered nugatory by the veto of a tribune. Antonius vetoed several such resolutions, besides that mentioned in the note, xxi. 6, above. *Agere cum aliquo* is "to enter into negotiations with a man," "to discuss with a man." So in the next sentence, *quid agebatur?* "what was the question at issue?"

28. **frequens**: in its proper sense of "crowded," "full."

29. **addicta**: *addicere* was a legal term, used of a judge "making over" disputed property to one or other claimant. So Antonius had "sold and surrendered his political conscience" to Caesar, says Cicero. Cp. *venditum et emancipatum tribunatum*, xxi. 9.

31. **volnus**: i.e. the passing of the *Senatus Consultum Ultimum*.

33. **imperiiis et potestatibus**: "commanders and magistrates," abstract for concrete. The words are difficult to render into English. *Imperium* is the right to command troops, military authority (at this date normally confined to proconsuls and propraetors); *potestas* includes all civil authority.

Ch. XXII. 6. **circumscriptus**: "hampered."

7. **omitto . . . levia**: "I pass over the falsity, the triviality, of such allegations." With *quam falsa*, sc. *sint*, the subjunctive (of dependent question) depending upon *omitto* as if that were *non quaero*. "I do not (stop to) enquire."

9. **sed nihil**: sc. *dico*.

11. **persona**: originally an actor's "mask," the word came to mean the "character" that wore the mask, and finally a "person" generally. The case is ablative after *constitisse*, the more usual construction being the ablative with *in*. **miserum . . . miseriorem**: for the case, cp. ii. 15.

12. **hoc . . . huius rei**: explained later by the accusative and infinitive phrases *consules . . . sedibus*.

16. **quod**: the relative, which in sense refers to *Pompeium* (and should therefore be *qui*) is attracted to the gender of the secondary predicate (*decus ac lumen*). The mood of *fuit* (contrast *potuissent*, line 18) shows that the dependence on the accusative and infinitive phrase is not brought out by the speaker.

17. **exsequi**: "to follow to the end" and so "to participate in," "share."

18. **potuissent**: subjunctive in dependence on the accusative and infinitive phrase.

19. **plebi**: an archaic genitive = *piebei*, from the stem *plebe-*. Such archaisms tend to survive in constitutional phraseology; cp. *senati* for *senatus*, and the form *induperator* = *imperator*.

20. **uno verbo**: "in a word."

23. **tris**: accusative, analogous to the forms *navis*, *ovis*, *ingentis*.

28. **accepta referemus Antonio**: "We shall put down to the credit of Antonius." See v. 39, note.

29. **Helena**: wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, whose abduction by Paris, the son of Priam of Troy, caused the Trojan War and the final destruction of the Trojans and their city.

33. **scelus in scelere**: chief amongst the crimes of Antonius was the recalling of numbers of persons who had been exiled in the normal course of justice. Yet even this criminal proceeding he improved upon, by refusing to recall his own uncle, i.e. by ignoring the claims of *pietas*.

Ch. XXIII. 1. restituebat: (i.e. *in integrum*, cp. line 17) "rehabilitated." **calamitosos:** "men who had come to grief." The word is the opposite of *incolumis* (ii. 20, note), and includes any one convicted in a case entailing *infamia* (disfranchisement) or exile.

4. de alea condemnatum: gambling was punishable by heavy fines and disfranchisement, yet it was notorious that most Romans who could afford it did gamble.

6. beneficio legis: the genitive is one of definition, literally "favour consisting in the law." The *lex* in question is the law which Antonius, as tribune, contrived to get passed, cancelling the degradation of Licinius.

8. absentem: five possible reasons for his rehabilitation are ironically suggested. The first is, that he was condemned in absence, which was illegal.

9. indicta causa: "his (defendant's) case not having been heard," and so "without hearing the defence." **nullum . . . iudicium:** "that there was no valid (*lege*) judgment against him on the charge of gambling," i.e. that there was some technical flaw which invalidated the verdict.

11. pecunia . . . corruptum: "that the court was bribed."

14. ita: "under these circumstances," "in this case."

15. dubitaret: subjunctive in consecutive clause, "so utterly bad as to think nothing of gambling."

16. in foro: "in public," "before the world," for to a Roman the Forum was the place where "all the world" was to be met. **alea:** instrumental ablative.

19. in Hispaniam proficiscens: to conduct the campaign which included the siege of Massilia and the battle of Ilerda.

20. tradidisset: Antonius, legally only a tribune, received the title of propraetor and was left in charge of Rome and Italy.

21. †coloniarum: a conjectural restoration, in lieu of the MS. reading *itinerum*. *Peragratio itinerum* must mean "manner of getting through his journeys." **lustratio:** a technical word for the solemn "visitation" of a spot for religious purposes, especially as part of the ceremonial of purification. It is here applied to Antonius' visits in mockery, for they were (suggests Cicero) more by way of pollution than purification.

24. qui non fui: Cicero was in or near Pompeius' camp at Dyrrhachium in Illyricum.

26. satis facere: here is the sense of "to do justice to," "to be equal to." Contrast xx. 4 and 11. **quod . . . auditum est:** the text is certainly faulty. The obvious syntax is to take *quod* (the interrogative adjective) *tantum flagitium* as subject to *auditum est*; but the accusative *tantum turpitudinem* (instead of *tanta turpitudinis*) is then inexplicable. The only alternative is to take *auditum est* impersonally, and to treat *flagitium, turpitudinem, dedecus* as accusatives, subjects to *exstitisse*. In this case, *quod* must be the indefinite adjective; yet its position is that of the interrogative, which it cannot possibly be, the question being expressed in *auditum est*, "was it ever heard?"

Ch. XXIV. 1. *essedo*: a two-wheeled carriage. The name is Celtic, and the original of it was the Gaulish or British "war-chariot." *lictiores laureati*: Antonius could only be entitled to an escort of *lictiores* as *propraetor*, not as *tribune*. But his appointment to the rank of *propraetor* was itself irregular, and in any case he had no right to have his *lictiores laureati*, that is, carrying *fascēs* decked with bays in honour of victories gained by the magistrate whom they escorted.

2. *aperta lectica*: *lectica* is a litter, or "chair," carried by slaves. It was not considered correct for a magistrate to be seen abroad accompanied by his women-folk; still less for the women to ride about in chairs; and least of all, in uncurtained chairs. The ablative is instrumental. *mima*: cp. viii. 27. Her *mimicum nomen*, "stage-name," was *Cytheris*, but off the stage she preferred to be addressed as *Volumnia*.

3. *municipales homines*: "burgesses." See note on line 9, below.

5. *raeda*: a four-wheeled "wagon" or "van." Like the *essedum*, it was of non-Italian, probably Celtic, origin.

9. *municipia, praefecturas, colonias*: a classification of the bulk of the communities of Italy as they stood before the end of the Social War (88 B.C.), i.e. throughout the major portion of the Republic's history. It had been the policy of Rome to secure her hold over Italy by the extension of the "municipal charter," i.e. by establishing gradually but surely a universal form of government copied from her own:—a government of annually elected magistrates assisted by a senate. The extension was effected in two ways; (1) by founding "colonies," i.e. creating new towns having the municipal constitution, the colonists being citizens sent out from Rome; (2) by absorbing Italian communities already existing, and granting to them a larger or smaller part of the franchise on condition of their adopting the municipal constitution. Very rarely she gave the full *civitas Romana* to such *municipes*. From time to time trouble arose with one or other of these communities, which resulted in Rome's sending for the time an annual "administrator" (*praefectus iuri dicundo*) to represent her interests. This amounted to a temporary interference with the "charter" of such towns, but they did not therefore cease to be in effect *municipia* or *coloniae*, as the case might be. Nevertheless, to prevent dangerous coalitions, arising from community of interests and of disabilities, each charter contained some special features (not however sufficient to affect the general form of the constitution), which sufficed to separate every *municipium* from the rest; while at the same time the municipal franchise as a whole fell far short of full *civitas Romana*. This last was enjoyed by very few save the most important of the *coloniae*. It was to obtain the full *civitas* that the Italians rose in rebellion in the Social War (91-88 B.C.), the result of which was that Rome gave way, the charters were renewed in one consistent shape, and thenceforward all the *Itali* were also *cives* (with a very few voluntary exceptions). As before, however, certain towns required

occasionally to be treated as *praefecturae*; and the distinctive terms *municipium* and *colonia* likewise remained in use from force of habit, albeit connoting now no political differences.

12. *difficilis . . . et lubrica*: because it was not easy to censure Antonius' share without also censuring that of his allies, especially that of the army which supported him (*veteranis*, line 15). *lubrica*: "slippery," hence "dangerous."

15. *veteranis cautum esse*: "(we desire that) all care be taken of the interests of the veterans," viz. of the old troops of Caesar, who were inclined to adopt the cause of Antonius on the slightest excuse.

18. *e Thessalia*: from Pharsalus.

20. *me non occidisti*: see above iii. 5, *sqq.*

23. *vestris . . . legionibus*: an excellent example of the "dative of the person judging" (a variety of the dative of indirect object).

24. *fac*: iii. 9, note.

27. †*flicuitne*: "your insults did not permit me to keep in mind this kindness, as I tried to keep it in mind, especially as (*on the top of your other insults*) I knew you would adopt your present violent course." The meaning is: I acknowledge that your sparing my life made me your debtor; but your subsequent insults have forced me long ago to forget the fact, despite my efforts to the contrary. For *praesertim cum te haec ausurum viderem* most editions read *praesertim cum te haec auditurum videres*; with which reading *praesertim cum* (= "and this too although") must be referred back to *per tuas contumelias*, "you prevented me, . . . by your insults, and that too though you knew that you would have to listen to this reply," i.e. you knew what kind of reply to expect.

Ch. XXV. 2. *mimulae*: Cytheris, the *mima* of xxiv. 2. The diminutive expresses contempt, "your precious stage-darling."

6. *viderit*: subjunctive in consecutive clause. So *nescierit*, and *indoluerit*. For the apparent irregularity of the sequence, see the note on *suaserim*, x. 9.

7. *iter*: accusative of extent of space. It took a fortnight more or less to travel to Brundisium from Rome, whence Cytheris presumably came. *gratulatum*: supine (accusative of goal of motion).

11. *deductio*: "quartering." The word is the technical one for "planting a colony." Here it is transferred sarcastically to the establishment of garrisons.

13. *Caesare ignaro*: certainly untrue. Caesar had been declared *Dictator II.*, and as such he required a deputy, technically *magister equitum*. The person selected was Antonius. The selection was normally made by the dictator himself, and Caesar of all men was unlikely to waive this right.

15. *Hippia*: masculine, the actor Hippias. The name is Greek, connected with *ἵππος* (= *equus*) and equivalent to "horseman"; whence it appears that Cicero is making a bad joke on the actor's name and on Antonius' new title of *magister equitum*. *equos . . . tradere*: "to make over the contract horses to the actor Sergius." The

allusion in this difficult passage seems to be as follows. The State, having to furnish the horses which ran in the circus-shows, levied a tax for this purpose on the givers of the shows. It then let out the job for a lump sum to contractors (hence *equi vectigales*) who provided the horses, of course at a profit to themselves. Senators alone were eligible to undertake the contract, but in this case Antonius seems to have handed over the affair (illegally) to Sergius. **hanc**: the house of Pompeius, in the Carinae, the fashionable district on the slope of the Esquiline Hill, overlooking the east end of the Forum. Antonius after the death of its owner acquired it by confiscation, which explains *male tuetur*, "keeps with difficulty," "finds it difficult to keep" (for Pompeius' heir-at-law, Sextus, wished to recover it). Previously Antonius had lived in another confiscated house, the property of the ex-consul M. Pupius Piso.

17. **ubi habitaret**: final, "to live in."

20. **quo se verteret**: probably subjunctive of indirect question after *habebat* in the sense of *sciebat*, which is common. It might also be explained as final (cp. last note), in which case *habebat* is used in its literal sense.

21. **Rubrio . . . Turselio**: see above, xvi. 27, *sqq.*

24. **heres**: sarcastic. He had ousted the real heirs and got possession of the *hereditas* by robbery. **ut**: = *ea lege ut*, "on such terms that." The clause is consecutive.

28. **levitatis**: *levitas* is the opposite of *gravitas*, and *gravitas* is, in Latin, that peculiar quality which makes a man a gentleman, "soundness," "reliability," "responsible conduct." To the Roman mind *levitas*, i.e. utter lack of that sense of balance and responsibility which marks a gentleman, was actually a worse offence than mere *improbitas*, "purposed villainy." **istis faucibus**: ablative of attendant circumstances, as are also the ablatives that follow. **lateribus**: "lungs." **gladiatoria**: for gladiators were proverbial for their rude physique and ruder habits.

32. **visu . . . auditu**: the supine in *-u* in its normal use as an ablative of respect.

36. **vinum**: quasi-cognate accusative with *redolentibus*.

37. **tribunal**: the raised seat or throne of the presiding magistrate in a court of justice, especially of the praetor. Antonius had praetorian rank at this date (xxiii. 20).

ARGUMENT.—§§ 64-74. *Your master came back victorious from the wars, and proceeded to dispose by auction of his victims' spoils. All that was Pompeius' went under the hammer, and you alone were found to bid for the spoils of blood! No shame deterred you, no respect for the mighty dead. You made your bid, carried off the prize, and straightway squandered all. It was the old story of "ill-gotten gains" once more. We might as well have flung all Pompeius' treasures into Charybdis, or into the sea. But the shame of it!—to think that a creature like Antonius should make a home of the roof that had once sheltered such a hero as Pompeius! I marvel that the sense of your own unfitness did not drive*

you mad. *A scandalous life you led in that splendid house; for though you have grown quieter now, we do not forget what you were once, you that vaunt yourself "An Antonius, and a Roman consul." Why not say at once "A blackguard, and a Roman consul?" And how was it that you who had fought so finely, murdered so largely, at Pharsalus, fought no more? We know why: Caesar, your master, had found you out. He called upon you to pay your debts, and you could not. You blustered awhile, but finally gave way, and advertised yourself to be sold up. Only your good fortune prevented the sale from coming off—that, and Caesar's departure for Spain.*

[Refer to the Index of Proper Names for **Pompeius** and **Dolabella**, and consult Introduction, §§ 5, 6.]

Ch. XXVI. 1. Alexandria se recepit: at the close of 47 B.C.

3. **sit:** subjunctive in consecutive clause. **hasta posita:** a spear planted in the ground was the symbol of the sale either of confiscated property (as here), or of loot taken in war.

4. **aede Iovis Statoris:** on the south side of the Forum, on the lower slopes of the Palatine Hill. **Juppiter Stator** is "Jupiter the Stayer" (*sistere*), i.e. who stays from flight. **subiectae:** the full phrase follows in line 6, *voci praeconis subicere*, "to submit a thing to the auctioneer's call," i.e. "put up for sale."

12. **illud scelus sectionis:** "that iniquitous sale." For *sectio*, see on xv. 41. The genitive is that of definition ("that iniquity consisting in a sale").

14. **essent:** subjunctive in concessive clause (*praesertim cum* = "and that too though," not "especially since" as often).

15. **auderet . . . fugisset:** subjunctives in consecutive clauses.

18. **isto loco natus:** "of such high degree." Pride of birth alone should have prevented him from figuring as a *sector*, most of all where a fellow *nobilis* such as Pompeius was concerned.

19. **populo Romano:** for the dative, cp. *vestris legionibus*, xxiv. 23, and below, line 23, *exteris gentibus*.

Ch. XXVII. 3. persona de mimo: "like a character in a pantomime." For *persona*, see on xxii. 11.

4. **poëtam:** the quotation ("light come, light go") is from Cn. Naevius, an epic and dramatic poet of Campanian birth, who died 200 B.C.

7. **numerus:** "quantity."

8. **argenti:** "silver plate." **vestis:** collective, "clothing," "vestments." So again, xxix. 33.

9. **multis locis:** "in many points," i.e. "in great part," ablative of respect.

11. **Charybdis:** the famous whirlpool in the Straits of Messina. It was figured in art as a female monster (*animal*), begirt with yelping hounds.

12. **quae si fuit:** "if ever there really was such a creature."

13. **me Dius Fidius:** sc. *iuvet* or *amet*. This was one of the most

ancient and solemn of Roman oaths, *Dius Fidius* ("the god who safeguards good-faith") being identical with the Italian *Hercules* (cf. the similar oath-formula *mehercule* or *mehercle*), and ultimately with *Jupiter* himself.

16. *nihil scriptum*: "an inventory was taken of nothing."
apothecae: strictly "store-rooms for wine," generally placed in such a position that the smoke and heat of the hypocausts (heating apparatus) of the house could circulate amongst the jars, this being supposed to mellow and mature the liquor. The word is here used of the contents of such—"bins" or "cellars."

18. *aleatoribus*: see on *alea*, xxiii. 4.

19. *potabatur*: impersonal, "there were day-long carouses."

21. *conchyliatis . . . peristromatis*: "purple coverlets." The substantive is Greek (*περίστρωμα*) in origin (for the form of the ablative cf. *poematis* from *poema*). *Conchyliatus* means "dyed with the juice of the *conchyle*," which was a small shell-fish from which was extracted the famous purple dye first used by the Phoenicians.

22. *videres*: potential subjunctive, "you might have seen," i.e. if you had been there.

24. *quamvis*: closely with *amplum*. Cp. xv. 17.

26. *aedes et hortos*: sc. some such verb as *consumpsit* or *devoravit*.

31. *sine lacrimis*: to be taken with both *aspicere* and *praeterire*.

Ch. XXVIII. 1. *rostra*: the "beaks" or "rams" of vessels, arranged upon the walls as trophies, just as they were used to decorate the *Rostra* (orator's platform) and the *Columna Rostrata* in the Forum. In the present case they were taken from the ships of the pirates whom Pompeius conquered in 67 B.C. *cum aspexisti*: "when(ever) you see" (literally, "have seen"). As the tense is a present-perfect, there is nothing irregular in the sequence of *putas*.

5. *mente consistere*: "to enjoy peace of mind."

7. *species*: "mental image," and so merely "thought."

11. *ex*: "begotten of."

13. *foris*: see on xi. 18.

15. *stabula*: "dens of vice" (literally "stalls" for animals).
conclavibus: = *tricliniis*, "dining-rooms," "banqueting-halls," such as were found in every gentleman's house. *Popinae* on the other hand are low-class eating-houses, "cook-shops."

17. *mimulam*: xxiv. 2. The phrase *suas res sibi habere iussit* means "has divorced," the direct formula being *tuas res tibi habeto*, "take your own (and go)." To demand back the keys of the house (*claves adimere*) from the wife, was another mode of divorcing. As Cytheris was not legally married to Antonius, Cicero's language is the more sarcastic. *ex duodecim tabulis*: *ex* = "according to." The "Twelve Tables," the oldest code of Roman Law, were drawn up by the Decemvirs in 450 B.C.

18. *exegit*: (= *eiecit*) "has bidden her leave the house." *Exigere uxorem* is another formula="to divorce." *porro*: = *protinus*, "and presto, a worthy citizen!"

19. *spectatus*: "proven." The metaphor is from a gladiator who has often "appeared" in the arena, which he could hardly live to do unless he were a capable fighting-man.

25. *avus*: the orator alluded to in xvii. 9.

26. *collega*: the consulship of 63 B.C. Cp. *patrui*, xxiii. 2.

28. *partium*: constantly thus used in the plural of the "part" or "rôle" played by an actor in a drama, his "character."

32. *defuisti*: "were not in it." As a matter of fact Antonius saw no active service after the Pharsalian campaign, returning to Italy in that year (48 B.C.) to act as *Magister Equitum* in Rome.

Ch. XXIX. 3. *antesignanus*: Caesar mentions his *antesignani* more than once in the *Bellum Civile*. They were the picked men of the legion, entrusted with the charge of the silver eagle (standard), around which they were posted. The word is metaphorical here, alluding to the important part played by Antonius in the Pharsalian campaign. He commanded the left of Caesar's line at Pharsalus.

6. *ut nonnullos*: sc. *servavit*. *Servasset* is potential, sc. "if he had had his way," or some such protasis.

8. *causae*: predicative dative. Cicero hints that cowardice was the reason why. in *Africam*: to the campaign which ended with the battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C.

10. *itaque*: "and so," i.e. because you were too much of a coward to follow Caesar to other fights.

11. *quo numero*: "(in or) of what account."

12. *imperatoris quaestor*: in Gaul, 53 B.C. See xx. 2 and 17. According to Roman theory, the position of a quaestor towards his superior officer was that of a son towards his father.

13. *belli princeps*: probably "his right-hand in war (at Pharsalus)," cp. *antesignanus fueras*, line 3, above. The words may also mean simply "prime cause of the (civil) war," with which cp. xxviii. 30, *natum, conflatum, susceptum opera tua est*.

14. *filius*: Caesar's will was made in favour of Octavianus as *heres*, but according to custom a number of *heredes secundi* were also named, in case of the death of the prior heir. Amongst these was Antonius. *Ut dicebas* means only that Antonius was fond of talking about it; not that his word was the only evidence for it. *appellatus es*: "you were summoned or called upon for."

18. *pecuniam*: the verb (e.g. *petit*) is easily supplied, as also in the following question.

20. *leges . . . rogavi*: the technical phrase for "proposing a law," literally "asking" the people to approve it. Perhaps Cicero alludes to Antonius' action in his tribunate, as described in xxiii. § 56; more likely he is purposely exaggerating the conduct of Antonius in actually bringing on the war. But we know of no "laws" which he passed, or tried to pass, at that date.

26. *ius*: "your due." *Quid ad rem* (sc. *attinet*) means "that has nothing to do with it," "that is not the point," "that does not matter."

27. *excussis tuis vocibus*: "ignoring your pleas."

29. *tabula*: "schedule," "inventory," of the intended sale. *esse*: exclamatory infinitive.

31. *partem Miseni*: cp. *Sisaponem*, xix. 25, and the notes there. *nihil*: for all the residue was confiscated property for which the *sei-disant* owner had not yet paid.

32. *auctionaretur*: subjunctive in clause dependent on the subjunctive dependent clause *quod . . . posset*, etc.

35. *sordidata*: "shabbily clad." *quicquam . . . reliqui*: "anything left." The genitive is partitive, depending on *quicquam*.

37. *L. Rubrii*: above §§ 40, 41. Nothing is known of the facts. If, as Cicero implies in § 41, Antonius had obtained the estates of Rubrius by foul means, it was only natural that the heirs-at-law should try to prevent his disposing of them. It might be possible some day to recover them from Antonius: dispersed by sale amongst a dozen or two of purchasers, it would be hopeless.

38. *quo . . . habebat*: above, xxv. 20.

39. *quin*: = *quinetiam*, "nay, more." In this sense *quin* does not affect the mood.

42. *paucis . . . diebus*: "having given you a respite of a few more days in which to pay."

44. *sequeris*: sc. *in Hispaniam*, to the campaign which ended at Munda, 45 B.C. *rudem*: the "staff" or "baton" which was presented, as a symbol of his discharge, to a gladiator who had earned his retirement. The verb is easily supplied, e.g. *accepisti*. By not accompanying Caesar to Spain, Antonius made it seem that he had "taken his discharge."

45. *qui*: the antecedent is *hunc*. *fuertit*: subjunctive in consecutive (or perhaps causal) clause. *in suis partibus*: "in the interests of his own party," on which depended his fortunes (*in suis fortunis*). In the sense of "party" or "faction," *partes* is not rare, e.g. xxx. 12.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 75-78. *Caesar went to Spain. Why did you not go too? You started indeed, but you left it to Dolabella to go and do the fighting. And you had far more reason than he to fight for the spoils which you stood to lose if Pompeius' sons could but hold their own. But you only got as far as Narbo, and then came home again. What a dramatic return! with muffled head and slippered feet, at dead of night, in disguise; and all to give a pleasant surprise to your long-suffering wife! A pretty reason for searing all Rome! Why, the very mob jeered at the pretence.*

Ch. XXX. 1. *aliquando tandem*: a strong expression implying that Antonius was very, very slow.

2. *pervenire*: "go the whole way," this being the force of the prefix. He only went as far as Narbo (line 18).

3. *Dolabella*: there is probably an allusion to his diminutive stature, which was so very noticeable that Cicero once publicly asked him who had tied him so cleverly to his sword.

4. **ista causa**: the cause of Caesar.

8. **nollem**: sc. *adfuisset*, "I could have wished that he had not (been there)."

10. **quid es?** "What are you?" *i.e.* "What are we to call you?" the answer being, of course, a craven.

11. **primum**: does not belong to *tum*, but is antithetic to *praeterea* in the next line. **fuerit**: concessive subjunctive (a variety of the jussive), "granted that this was the joint aim," etc. *Tum* means in the Spanish campaign, when the Republicans were led by Gnaeus and Sextus, sons of Pompeius Magnus.

12. **repetebant**: imperfect implying effort, "were trying to recover."

15. **quorum erant legibus**: "to whom they belonged by law."

16. **aequissimum**: "only fair." As Antonius was in the enjoyment of the confiscated property of Pompeius' family, it was but fair that he should have helped to combat their attempts to recover it.

18. **Narbone**: cp. xiv. 7. But in line 20 the same form is an ablative of place whence, "from Narbo." **convomeres . . . dimicaret**: deliberative subjunctives. See the note on *venirem*, ii. 2.

20. **etiam**: "actually." Antonius must have alluded in his speech of September 19th to Cicero's unexpected return after quitting Italy in July (44 B.C.).

21. **ipso**: the force of the adjective is, "from a voyage which I had actually commenced."

22. **nuper**: in the First Philippic, September 2nd.

23. **ante Kalendas Ianuarias**: on quitting Rome Cicero had promised to be back by the first day of the new year, to support the Consuls-designate, Hirtius and Pansa, both sound republicans.

24. **quod quaerebas**: "as to your question." *Quod* is accusative of extent of action of the verb.

25. **luce**: sc. *redii*. *Luce* (originally *luci*) is an old locative, assimilated, as usual in the third declension, to the ablative. *Tenebris* again, which is pure ablative, is here used without the usual preposition (*in*) by analogy to *luce*. **calceis et toga**: the ordinary outdoor dress of a Roman in Rome, the *calceus* being a laced shoe, often heavily nailed.

26. **Gallicis . . . lacerna**: characteristically un-Roman articles of dress. The *Gallicae* (sc. *soleae*, "slippers") were light sandals, the *lacerna* a light cloak, worn in damp or dusty weather, and fastened with a brooch (*fibula*) not held together with a girdle. At this date it was considered a disgrace for a senator to appear in a *lacerna*.

27. **ne**: cp. ii. 11, note.

31. **viderere . . . peteres . . . rogares**: subjunctives in relative clause implying concession (*qui* = "though you"). **fuisse tibi viderere**: fancied yourself to have been, "a reminder that Cicero did not regard Antonius' appointment to that office as legally valid **proximum annum**: "the year following," *i.e.* 44 B.C.

32. **peteres . . . rogares**: "were a candidate, or rather a beggar," for the consulship. With the meaning of *peterere*, cp. *petitionem*, ii. 14. So below, *tum cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur*, means "in the old

days when consulships were won by canvassing, not by begging." Under Caesar's rule, says Cicero, office was only to be got by currying favour with Caesar, by "begging" for it.

Ch. XXXI. 3. *Saxa Rubra*: a hamlet on the Via Flaminia, the Great North Road of Rome, about nine miles from the city. It got its name from the colour of the rocks which overhung it ("Radeliffe"). The preposition *ad* is added with a specific force, "as far as."

4. *vesperam*: = *vesperum*, which is far commoner.

5. *cisio*: a "gig," a light two-wheeled cart for one or two horses. It was the usual means of getting about for short distances where despatch was essential.

6. *ianitor*: understand "asked," or some equivalent word. *tabellarius*: a bearer of *tabellae* ("despatches"), a messenger. *Marco* is of course M. Antonius, who has disguised himself and is pretending to be his own *tabellarius*.

7. *ad eam*: sc. *venit*. His wife Fulvia is meant.

9. *caput*: "sum," "gist."

11. *illim*: (older form of *illinc*) "from that quarter," i.e. from Cytheris.

15. *Catamitum*: a Romanised spelling of the Greek name Gany-medes 1, the beautiful cup-bearer of Jove. Hence in Latin generally "a spoiled darling," "a favourite."

16. *terrore . . . perturbasti*: Cicero is doubtless exaggerating, but doubtless also the hurried arrival of the supposed courier from Antonius caused no small stir. The epithet *nequam* (line 13) refers to Antonius' lack of dignity in thus behaving, not so much to his display of affection for his wife.

18. *amoris*: genitive of definition, "the excuse of affection": one excuse for his sudden and hurried return was to be found in his affection for Fulvia.

19. *L. Plancus . . . venderet*: apparently Plancus was about to "sell up" the property of those who had gone surety for Antonius, in order to recover the moneys due to Caesar (see §§ 73, 74). This, says Cicero, was the real motive for the hurried return. Plancus had been a *legatus* ("Adjutant") of Caesar in Gaul, and was now (45 B.C.) acting in a similar capacity for him in Rome.

20. *in contionem*: "to address the people" in the *Concilium Plebis*.

22. *dicacem*: the word generally denotes scurrilous, low, wit.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 78-84. You made up your quarrel with Caesar, and united with him in robbing Dolabella of the consulship. Then when Dolabella very naturally made so hot a speech against you, you took advantage of your powers as augur to declare that you would take care that he never should be consul. It was a blunder on your part, for you could have effected your purpose just as well in virtue of your consulship, and without breaking the law or abusing your augural powers. To Caesar you were complaisant enough—all humility and cringing—but you cherished your wrath against Dolabella. The polling-day came: one by one the

votes were recorded in his favour: yet you never interfered with your promised augury until the business was done and his election completed! To gratify a personal spite you brought the whole State into an impasse. Yet, inconsistent to the last, you have forgotten your own objections, and raise no protest to-day against the validity of Dolabella's election.

[Refer to the Index of Proper Names for **Dolabella**.]

Ch. XXXII. 2. isti: = *ivisti*.

3. minus fortem: not courageous enough to go to the front. Cp. §§ 71, 75.

4. nescio quo modo: cp. *nescio quando*, ii. 1, and note on xiv. 26.

5. habebat . . . Caesar: "that was just Caesar's way," *hoc* being explained by the following sentence *quem . . . recipiebat*.

8. his . . . rebus: "such qualifications" as *audacia* combined with *egestas*.

9. iussus es renuntiari: "you received (Caesar's) orders to have yourself returned consul." The language is ironical, for the *renuntiatio* of a consul, i.e. the result of a consular election, was not a matter in which Caesar had constitutionally any right to interfere. For the meaning of *renuntiatio*, *renuntiare*, see on xxxiii. 2. **cum ipso:** "with Caesar himself as your colleague" in the consulship for the year 44 B.C.

11. quanta . . . perfidia: ablative of description.

12. ille: Caesar. He had promised the consulship of 44 B.C. to Dolabella, and he broke his promise, himself sharing the office with Antonius. But he shortly resigned it, and allowed Dolabella to stand for election as *consul suffectus*. See xxxiii. 1. **promissum et receptum:** "what he had promised and guaranteed."

15. cogimur: *senatum cogere* is the technical phrase for "convening the House."

17. hic: Antonius.

18. priusquam proficisceretur: before leaving Rome for his projected campaign against the Parthians. The clause is purely temporal (no purpose being implied), but it is dependent on the accusative and infinitive phrase; hence the subjunctive.

19. quem negant regem: "and yet men say he was no king." The following clauses are concessive, ("despite the fact that he was always doing, etc."). Caesar made a practice of filling up the consulship and other high offices by arbitrary nominations (cp. the note on line 9), although to the people in *comitia* alone belonged the right *consules iubere*, to appoint consuls.

22. augur: since 50 B.C. See ii. 21, note. The *augures* formed a *collegium*, or "Corporation," whose purpose was the study and preservation of the rules in accordance with which the *auspicia* were interpreted. No public act was undertaken without a preliminary consultation of the *auspicia*, i.e. the signs from which it was to be gathered whether or no the gods were favourable to the proposed act. The only persons competent to "take the auspices" (*auspicia habere*)

were the higher magistrates. The augurs could not do so; their power was limited to the giving of an opinion (if requested) upon the nature of the auspices in any given case; and while on the one hand their ruling was absolute and unalterable, on the other hand they could give no opinion unless formally invited to do so. They were practically a Court of Appeal. The process of taking the auspices was termed *spectio* (line 30): thus *auspicia habere* differs from *specionem habere*; the former meaning simply “to be qualified to take the auspices should occasion arise,” and the latter denoting the actual taking of the auspices on any given occasion. The auspices having been duly taken (*specione habita*) by the magistrate, the result was formally announced. Such announcement was termed *nuntiatio* (line 28), or, if the result was unfavourable, *obnuntiatio*. If the magistrate undertook the *spectio* unassisted, he naturally made the *nuntiatio* himself. If on the other hand, as often, he called in an augur to assist him in the *spectio*, the *nuntiatio* or *obnuntiatio* rested with the augur. But the augur as such had neither *auspicia* nor *spectio*. Now the validity of any public act depended upon the auspices being (a) correctly taken, and (b) favourable. If the auspices were unfavourable, nothing could be done, and the matter had to be postponed to another day (*alio die* was the formula used, xxxiii. 6). If again there had been any flaw or informality (*vitium*) in the *spectio*, the subsequent act was of course invalidated (*vitiare*, line 23). And the only persons who had power to determine whether such *vitium* had occurred were the augurs. Herein lay the secret of the great importance of the *Auguratus*. A corrupt augur could always be prevailed upon for a consideration to declare that the auspices had been improperly taken, or to give an unfavourable report (*obnuntiatio*) if he were called in to attend at the *spectio*. His assistance was therefore invaluable to political parties above all in *electoral* matters; for by the augur's assistance his party, could control the action of any *comitia*, either (a) by preventing the taking of the poll (*comitia impedire*, line 23) on the plea that the auspices were unfavourable, or (b) by cancelling the result of the poll (*comitia vitiare*, line 23) on the plea that there had been a flaw in the *spectio*. It was because of this great *political* value of the *auguratus* that the nobles took such great pains to keep it in their own control, and such eminent men (*e.g.* Cicero himself and Caesar) were anxious to attain to it. In Cicero's time only one class of auspices was consulted, viz. *caelestia*, signs in the heavens, such as thunder, lightning, etc. Hence *de caelo servare* (line 36), “to watch the sky” (for lightning, etc.). But this led to still further abuse. The magistrate presiding (N.B.—not an augur, unless the magistrate happened to be augur as well) at a *comitia* could at any moment stop the polling by declaring that he had “watched the sky” (*servasse de caelo*), for no one could challenge the truth of his assertion. Whence it followed that, if he desired to prevent any comitial act, it was only needful for him to announce beforehand that he *intended* to “watch the sky,” which was tantamount to declaring that he meant to stop the proceedings. These

abuses were put an end to by the law of Clodius, in 58 B.C., for which see the note on line 28.

25. *sacerdotii iure*: "by right of your office as an augur."

28. *nos*: "we augurs," Cicero had been one of the College of Augurs since 53 B.C. The abuses (line 22, note) attending the *auspicia* had been legalised by a *Lex Aelia et Fufia*, 156 B.C. They were put a stop to by the tribune P. Clodius in 58 B.C., who passed a law forbidding the magistrate to interfere with the course of the polling when once it had commenced. The magistrate still retained the right of preliminary *spectio* (and if he chose he might still "see signs" in the course of such *spectio*) but he was *compelled* to call in an augur to give the *nuntiatio*; and though the augur (if it were made worth his while, or if the magistrate's report of the results of the *spectio* required it) was free of course, *obnuntiare*, "to declare the auspices unfavourable," and so to cause the *comitia* to be postponed; yet when once the polling had commenced it was not lawful either to stop it on plea of "watching the sky" or to cancel the result on plea of informality (for as the *auspicia* had already been referred to the opinion of the augur in attendance, and the augur's decision was final, it was no longer possible to plead either faulty *spectio*, or mistaken *nuntiatio*). At the present date therefore (44 B.C.), as Cicero remarks, the augurs possessed (as heretofore) only *nuntiatio*; whereas the magistrates, albeit they had lost the *nuntiatio*, still retained the *spectio*. Now Antonius was both an augur and a consul, 44 B.C. If he desired to prevent the election of Dolabella he could do so in two ways: either (a) he could, as augur, resort to *obnuntiatio*; or (b) he could, as presiding magistrate, employ his powers of *spectio*. And inasmuch as *spectio* preceded *nuntiatio*, and it was upon the *spectio* that the *nuntiatio* depended, it was obviously simpler for him as augur to say that the signs seen were bad, and be done with it; than first, as consul, to perform the *spectio*, and secondly, as augur, rule them bad; for he could not as augur make *obnuntiatio*, unless as consul he had first "seen signs," or otherwise found the *spectio* unfavourable.

29. *etiam spectationem*: the force of *etiam* is (not "*spectio as well as nuntiatio*," but) "that even more necessary power of *spectio*." For without the *spectio* of the magistrate there could be no *nuntiatio* of the the augur. For the force of *etiam*, ep. vi. 20.

33. *auspiciis*: by declaring that there was a *vitium* in the auspices.

34. *quod fecit*: he "saw a sign." Cp. xxxiii. 6, "*alio die*" *inquit. quisquamne* . . . : the meaning is that, inasmuch as it is impossible to know beforehand that the *auspicia* of any given day will be *vitiata*, a person who declares that he means to find a flaw in them is in effect threatening to "see a sign."

35. *comitiis*: "during the polling."

36. *per leges*: the law of Clodius. See note on line 28.

37. *comitiis habitis*: "while the *comitia* is in progress," the perfect participle passive here doing duty for a present, as in Vergil's *Circensibus actis*, "while the circus games are being celebrated."

39. *inscientia*: ablative.

41. *Idus Martias*: the date of Caesar's murder.

42. *apparitor*: the attendant (other than a lictor) or servant of any magistrate. The consul Antonius, chief magistrate of the Republic, played the rôle of *apparitor* to Caesar, says Cicero, though Caesar was legally only his equal (*collega*).

43. *aversam lecticam*: "the rear of Caesar's litter." For *lectica*, see xxiv. 2. It was big enough to lie down in, and the rider's head would naturally be at the rearmost end, at which therefore Antonius pushed in his own head, to whisper his petitions.

Ch. XXXIII. 1. *Dolabellae comitiorum*: "of the polling for Dolabella." The date is not known: it was somewhere between January 1st and March 15th, 44 B.C. The election of consuls took place in *Comitia Centuriata*. The *Comitia Centuriata* consisted of the Roman People assembled by centuries and classes. It was originally introduced by King Servius Tullius, but in the course of time it had been very greatly modified. At the present date there were still 5 classes, divided into 193 *centuriae*. Of these 89 (including the 18 *centuriae equitum*) belonged to the *classis prima*, leaving 104 *centuriae* to the remaining classes. Now as the total number of votes was 193, an absolute majority was 97; and supposing the *classis prima* (= 89 votes) to vote unanimously, it was only needful to secure 8 more votes of the remaining *centuriae* in order to secure victory at the poll ($89 + 8 = 97$). On the present occasion the entire 89 *centuriae* of the first class voted for Dolabella. In its turn the second class proceeded to poll, and polled on the same side. Suddenly Antonius, in virtue of his powers as augur, declared the *comitia* off, on the score of "signs seen": in other words, he waited as long as he dared in the hope that Dolabella might after all be defeated; but finally attempted to stop the polling when his election was practically, if not actually, a certainty.

2. *sortitio praerogativae*: sc. *centuriae*, "there was then the process of selecting by lot (or balloting for) the praerogative century," i.e. the century which should first record its vote. The Romans regarded the result of this ballot with extraordinary superstition, believing it to be the direct assertion of the will of heaven; and in many cases the entire *comitia* simply followed the lead given by the *praerogativa*. The *centuria praerogativa* was chosen by lot from the first class, excluding the 18 *centuriae equitum*; hence it would be chosen from 71 centuries ($89 - 18$). Now if Antonius was resolved to prevent the return of Dolabella at all costs, legal or illegal, he had two courses open to him. (a) Firstly, he might declare the *comitia* off, as soon as he knew which *centuria* had been ballotted to act as *praerogativa*: for under the elaborate electoral system of Rome, and its still more elaborate systems of bribery and party organisation, he must have been well aware how that particular *centuria* would vote, viz. for Dolabella. By interfering before it had actually recorded its vote, he might perhaps have kept within the law, and he would certainly have avoided a great deal of ill-feeling. But

quiescit, he made no protest. (b) Secondly, he might have interfered at least as soon as the result of its voting was announced (*renuntiatur*), and before any other centuries had proceeded to the poll. This would have been illegal, but not more so than his ultimate action, and it would have aroused far less resentment. But *tacet*, he still remained dumb. *renuntiatur*: "the result of its voting was announced." Each century had a single vote only, and this it determined by a poll of its own members. The result was then reported (*renuntiari*) to the *comitia* at large, and the successive votes of each century were similarly made public as they were recorded. It was therefore perfectly easy for every one, Antonius included, to know how the poll was going.

3. †*deinde VI, ut adsolet, suffragia*: the majority of the MSS. read *deinde ut adsolet suffragia*; one inserts *ita* before *ut*. Either reading must be faulty; for it is absurd to mention the voting of the whole of the first class, and then add "and then the voting took place, in the usual way"; still more absurd if one goes on to add "and then the second class polled." The reading VI (instead of *ita*) is due to Mommsen. There were 18 *centuriæ equitum*, 6 old (patrician) centuries, and 12 (plebeian) added later. It seems probable that the latter voted with the first class, the former by themselves, but *immediately after the first class* (i.e. between the first and second class). The six patrician centuries were often called *sex suffragia*: hence the suggestion VI (in place of *ita*). But perhaps the word *suffragia* by itself (without *sex*) came to be used of the six patrician centuries; if this were so, the reading of the MSS. can stand.

5. *confecto negotio*: i.e. when an absolute majority had been already obtained (in which event the remaining centuries would not, in the usual course of things, be called upon to vote). Cicero is doubtless exaggerating, and doubtless Antonius interfered before the necessary eight votes more had been recorded for Dolabella.

6. *C. Laelium*: consul 140 B.C. and a member of the College of Augurs, celebrated for his rectitude and for his *sapientia*. It is to the latter quality that Cicero ironically alludes here. *alio die*: the phrase in which the augur *obnuntiavit*, declared the auspices to be unfavourable. Some such expression as *comitia habentur*, "let the *comitia* be held," may be supplied.

13. *obstrinxisti religione*: "trammelled by the help of religion," that is by (abuse of) the augur's powers.

14. *auguri . . . consuli*: Caesar, Antonius' colleague in the consulate and augurate. Caesar considered the election of Dolabella to be both auspicious and desirable. Antonius *obnuntiavit* on both points, "thwarted" him. Caesar, as consul, would hold the *comitia* after having duly taken the auspices.

15. *plura*: sc. *dicere*.

16. *deferantur*: jussive subjunctive, in semi-dependence on *necesse est*. The ultimate decision as to the validity of the *acta* of Dolabella as consul would have to be referred to the College of Augurs.

19. *si nihil est*: "if it is of no moment." If an augur's using the

phrase "*alio die*" is meaningless, Antonius must have been drunk to use it.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 84-92. *Next came your scandalous conduct at the Lupercalia; for it was you who ventured, before the eyes of all Rome, to offer to Caesar the royal crown. If you were prepared to be his subject, we were not likewise ready: and if we have killed him who refused the crown, surely we ought to have killed you who offered it to him. You were surely mad to do it. Then came the Ides of March. Was ever panic such as yours on that day? But you speedily recovered yourself, as I knew you would—speedily abandoned your pretence of patriotism, and stultified anything that you had in your terror done for your country's good. It was you that encouraged the shocking outrages which disgraced the day of Caesar's burial. It is you that have made profit out of the forgery of Caesar's name. In the Senate you moved high-sounding decrees on behalf of our liberty; at home you sold our liberties for your own profit.*

Ch. XXXIV. 3. **Lupercalia**: the festival of the Luperci (*i.e.* priests of the wolf-god, Lupercus, identified with Pan) on the 15th February. It is thought to have been analogous to the "Beating of the Bounds" which is still practised in a few English townships. The Luperci, wearing skins and armed with thongs of leather, roamed about the streets, striking all whom they met. Antonius was himself a Lupercus.

4. **apparet**: impersonal, as the accusative *commotum* shows.

5. **modo**: = *dummodo*, "provided that," and hence (by rule) with subjunctive. **quod . . . fecit**: the allusion is to the event described in § 63. The *Porticus Minucia* lay west of the Capitol near the Tiber.

7. **rhetoris**: see on xvii. 13.

9. **collega**: Caesar. **toga purpurea**, **sella aurea**, **coronatus**: severally symbols of royal power.

11. **ita . . . ut**: "only on the understanding that (on condition that) you were bound." *Deberes* is subjunctive in a (consecutive) clause restrictive of a preceding statement.

13. **unde diadema**: sc. *accepisti*. **sustuleras**: "had picked it up."

15. **imponebas**: conative imperfect, "tried to put." So *reiciebat*.

21. **peteres**: "you ought to have asked." The jussive subjunctive is here used of advice no longer applicable.

25. **nudus**: dressed only in the skin girdle of a Lupercus.

26. **dum**: here followed by the subjunctive, as it introduces a final clause, "are you waiting for us to prod you."

31. **imposuerit**: subjunctive in final relative clause; so *abiecerit* (*qui* = "since he").

33. **fastis**: "calendar." Any record of the year's events was *fasti*, the most important, and that which is here probably meant, being the *fasti* of the Pontiffs. **ad Lupercalia**: "under the date of the Lupercalia," viz. February 15th.

38. **de die . . . in diem**: "by day . . . for the day." It was

scandalous to begin drinking early in the day. With *in diem*, cp. *in diem vivunt*, "they live for the present only," without thought of the future.

39. *in*: "within the reach of."

Ch. XXXV. 1. auspicia: the question of the validity of Dolabella's election, that is, of the validity of Antonius' interference with it on the score of the auspices, was one of the matters to be discussed in the Senate on March 15th.

3. *audiebam*: "I was *more than once* told."

5. *putares*: subjunctive of reported cause; "because, as they said, you thought." *sustulit*: "did away with." As we might say, owing to Caesar's murder the day was in effect a *dies non*, the meeting of the Senate never taking place.

8. *quod . . . praevertendum est*: "which must be dealt with before those matters upon which my speech has entered." *Quod* is accusative of extent of action of verb; *illis* is dative, and *praevertor* in this sense is deponent, "to consider before." The active *praevertō* means "to anticipate," "forestall."

15. *liberatoribus*: xiii. 16.

18. *similem . . . tui*: "would be yourself again," "would go back to your old ways."

22. *post diem tertium*: = *post tertio die*. But, as the Romans counted inclusively, the English equivalent is "*two* days later," viz. March 17th.

23. *Telluris*: north of the Forum, between the Subura and the Carinae, a fashionable quarter to the eastward, on the lower slopes of the Esquiline Hill.

25. *subito*: "so soon," viz. by September 1st.

26. *quod tibi invideris*: "because you proved such a churl to yourself." Antonius' first acts after the murder were apparently favourable to the murderers, i.e. to the Republican party. Subsequently (September 1st) he changed his attitude and became aggressive. Cicero says it is a pity he showed himself so envious of the credit he had thus far gained, as to go out of his way to nullify it all.

Ch. XXXVI. 2. illius diei: March 17th, on which day Cicero proposed, and Antonius approved, an amnesty for the murderers.

4. *puerum*: the young child of Antonius and Fulvia, who was herself the daughter of M. Bambalio.

6. *magister officii*: in opposition to *timor*. *Officium* is "what one ought to do," almost "good behaviour."

9. *praeфуisti*: when Cicero says that he hardly knows whether to call the occasion a *funus*, he is thinking of the riots which attended the burning of Caesar's body in the Forum.

10. *laudatio*: "panegyric," "funeral oration." The funeral of every Roman of distinction was accompanied by a *laudatio*, setting forth the glories of the dead man and of his *gens* or ancestors.

12. **L. Bellieni**: a senator whose house was burned in the riots attending the funeral.

14. **ex maxima parte**: we say "in the main (part)." **quos**: the antecedent is *impetus*. The mob made an abortive attempt to burn and loot other houses.

16. **reliquis diebus**: ablative of time within which.

17. **ne**: the final clause depends on *consulta*, "resolutions to prevent the posting of any record, etc." *Tabula* is the plate of bronze upon which official acts were engraved, the *tabula* being then posted (*figere*) in some recognised place, *e.g.* the Capitoline Temple (see line 28).

18. **immunitatis**: "exemption." See the note on *immunia*, xvii. 14. *Cuius* is of course from *quis* indefinite.

20. **dictaturae nomen**: "the style of Dictator," by which Caesar had been best known. The *dictatura*, "office of the Dictator," was originally a revival in effect of the monarchy, the two consuls being superseded for the time by one supreme commander at home and abroad. This course was generally taken to meet some grave peril, *e.g.* a foreign war or a domestic sedition; and its purpose was to get rid of that divided command which was an inherent weakness of the consulship. In process of time the *dictatura* lapsed, partly because it was too powerful an office to be entrusted to an individual. The last *dictator* of the normal kind was Fabius Maximus, 216 B.C., in the Hannibalic War. The later "dictatorships" of Sulla (82-79 B.C.) and Caesar had nothing in common with the older *dictatura*, but were merely instances of the abuse of an honourable title to conceal absolute but unconstitutional power. Antonius proposed and carried a resolution that the very name of *Dictator* and *Dictatura* should be prohibited for ever.

23. **feiis omen omne**: "everything suggestive (or ominous) of it." The MSS. have *eius omen nomen*, which is amended either as in the text, or to *eius omne nomen*. As *nomen* occurs two lines above, if the choice is between *omen* and *nomen* the former is the better reading.

26. **fefellit**: sc. Antonius.

27. **sui dissimilis esse**: cp. xxxv. 18.

29. **singulis**: "to individuals." So *singillatim*, line 30.

30. **provinciis**: an exaggeration. The only province which obtained the *civitas* by Antonius' means was Sicily.

33. **perdidistis**: because the gift of *civitas* carried with it that of *immunitas* (line 18).

34. **nundinis**: see on xiv. 24.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 93-100. *Pray where are those millions that have vanished from the Treasury? How is it that you are no longer loaded with debt? What of that famous decree for the restoration of Caesar's most hated victim Deiotarus? What did you get for it? and how do you propose to recover on the bond? Deiotarus has got back his own without your help, and how will you make him pay for his own? Another of your precious forgeries made Crete tax-free "after the Governorship of*

M. Brutus. "Why, you must be mad not to recollect that Brutus was never destined to be governor of Crete in Caesar's intentions. Well, you have lost us a fat province. By other forgeries you recalled a host of exiles, but always excepted your own uncle from your mercies, and others more deserving. All you could do for him was to put him forward for—save the mark!—a censorship, and refuse him a place on your Land Commission! Oh, we well understand why; but you need not have added insult to injury by publicly shaming him and his daughter and my friend your fellow-consul Dolabella. But to revert: whence came all these numberless decrees in Caesar's name? And what has become of the proposed commission to enquire into them? Was it not to have begun its work on June 1st? But we are waiting for it still.

[Refer to the Index of Proper Names for *Deiotarus* and *M. Brutus*.]

Ch. XXXVII. 2. ad Opis: sc. *aedem*, "temple." The ellipse is common. For its position, see on xiv. 17.

3. *funestae . . . pecuniae*: genitive of definition depending on *sestertium* (understood after *miliens*) which is here declinable as a neuter singular substantive. See the note on xvi. 13. The money is *funestae*, because it was the result of confiscations and the spoil of citizens.

4. *quorum erat*: "to whom it belonged." Cp. *quorum erant legibus*, xxx. 15. *si . . . non redderetur*: "if it was not to be given back." *tributis*: the plural means "successive payments of the war-tax." *Tributum* does not denote "tribute" (which is *stipendium*), but a special war-tax assessed on the basis of freehold property. Owing to the enormous value of the spoils won by the Romans in the conquest of Macedonia 168 B.C., and in the course of subsequent campaigns and annexations, the *tributum* was never levied in Italy after 167 B.C. until the present date (14 B.C.). It was, however, re-imposed in the very next year, to meet the costs of the campaign of the Triumvirs against the Republicans. Cicero was evidently aware that there was already some talk of reviving it.

5. *quadringentis sestertium*: "40,000,000 sesterces." For the ellipse of *centena milia*, see on xvi. 13.

7. *ea*: sc. *decreta*.

10. *in Capitolio fixum*: see on xxxvi. 17, and below xxxviii. 7.

12. *aeque*: sc. *inimicus erat*. With *equestri*, sc. *ordini*, and see the note on vii. 13.

13. *Massiliensibus*: "the men of Massilia" (Marseilles), who defended their town vigorously against Caesar, 49 B.C.

15. *quo*: the antecedent is *cum* (*Caesarem*) understood with *mortuum*. For the anastrophe of the clauses, cp. i. 6.

16. *aequi boni*: "fair and just (treatment)." The genitive is partitive.

17. *compellarat*: sc. *Caesar*. *Compellere* here means the same as *appellare* in xxix. 14.

19. *tetrarchia*: "principality" of Galatia. The word had lost its

original meaning of "government of a fourth part" of a country.
unum: a son of Mithradates of Iergamus in Phrygia, and bearing the same name.

20. **Armeniam . . . a senatu datam**: Armenia Minor (Western Armenia) had been added to the government of Deiotarus by Pompeius in 64 B.C., and the Senate had acquiesced, because it was never consulted. Caesar took it away and gave it to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.

22. **aequum . . . iniquum**: a quotation from the *decretum* of Antonius in favour of Deiotarus.

23. **ille**: *i.e.* Caesar.

24. **adfui**: technical for a barrister's "defending" his client's interests; "I was his counsel."

25. **syngrapha**: (συγγραφή) "a bond." **sestertii centiens**: "10,000,000 sesterces." *Sestertii* is the genitive of *sestertium*. See note on xvi. 13. The genitive is that of definition; "a bill of (*i.e.* amounting to) ten millions."

27. **nostra**: = *mea* (Cicero's). **hospitum**: "guest-friends," *i.e.* persons of different nationality who undertook to look after another's interests in their several communities. Perhaps "agents" is the nearest equivalent in English, as we speak of "Agent-General for Australia," etc.

28. **gynaecio**: "boudoir." The word, which is Greek, originally denoted that portion of a Greek house which was set apart for the use of the women. No such separation of the sexes prevailed in Rome; Cicero uses the word here with a sneer (as above he sneered at Antonius' effeminate dress), in allusion to the way in which he submitted himself to Fulvia.

30. **meditere**: jussive subjunctive in semi-dependence on *censeo*.

34. **quibus**: the customary dative with verbs of taking away.

35. **iure consultus**: the more usual phrase is *iuris* (objective genitive) *consultus*, like *iuris peritus*; *iure* here is ablative of respect.

36. **tibi uni**: dative of the person judging, "in your eyes alone" (no one else being so foolish as to credit him with any knowledge of the law). The reference is probably to Sextus Clodius the rhetorician of § 43.

40. **venderes**: subjunctive, as the action expressed by the clause is *purposely anticipated*. **possedit**: from *possidēre*.

41. **factorem**: most editions read *auctorem*, in the same sense.

Ch. XXXVIII. 2. chirographis: "autograph notes." Contrast the meaning of *chirographo*, iv. 19.

3. **†institores**: "hawkers," "salesmen." This is an emendation for the MS. reading *imitatores*, "forgers."

4. **gladiatorum libellos**: "playbills" setting forth the date, programme of events, principal artists, etc., in a forthcoming gladiatorial display. **venditent**: subjunctive in final clause.

8. **vectigalibus**: the word includes all taxes whatever, both the *stipendium* ("tribute") paid by all conquered dependencies of Rome, and any less general impost, such as customs, excise, etc.

9. *ne sit . . . provincia*: an exaggeration. The setting free from taxation is looked upon as tantamount to giving up the province. Crete was annexed as a province in 67 B.C. *post M. Brutum pro consule*: "after the governorship of the pro-consul M. Brutus."

10. *mentis compos*: "master of your senses." The genitive is objective. *constringendus*: "to be put under restraint" as a lunatic.

12. *nihil ad Brutum . . . pertineret*: as Caesar had never allotted Crete to Brutus, it was impossible to believe that he had arranged for any innovations there "after Brutus had been governor." By Caesar's arrangement, M. Brutus was to be governor of Macedonia. See note on xiii. 14.

13. *nihil actum*: "that no harm has been done."

15. *defuerit*: perfect subjunctive, ordinary sequence in consecutive clauses.

18. *freditus aequatos*: the MSS. have *inquinatos*, "polluted," "tarnished," for which *aequatos*, "equalized," "treated as equal," is an emendation. Caesar had allowed many of the Republican exiles to return to Italy; others he had refused to treat with the same leniency. It was these latter whom Antonius proceeded to recall by forged decrees. They were mostly men of dubious character, which explains why firstly Caesar would not restore them, and why secondly their recall "disgraced" better men (because the good and the bad were treated in precisely the same way, viz. pardoned).

23. *habes in loco patruī*: "treat as you treated your uncle," i.e. in 49 B.C. See xxiii. 1. He was ultimately recalled by Caesar, 45 B.C. *ferre*: sc. *rogationem*, "move for a law" on his behalf.

26. *risus*: C. Antonius had been degraded by the Censors of 70 B.C. For such a man to offer himself for the Censorship was therefore as ridiculous as it was insulting. The train of thought is: you did not think your uncle a fit person to be recalled from exile; how then did you dare suggest him as a suitable Censor for us?

27. *comitia*: the *comitia censoria* (election of censors). Antonius failed after all to bring his uncle to the poll.

28. *tribunus . . . nuntiabat*: at *comitia* (but on no other occasion) thunder or lightning on the left was accounted a bad omen, bad enough to stop the polling. Under all other circumstances it was a good sign. The tribunes of the plebs, albeit they were the lowest of the magistrates having *auspicia*, could always stop a *comitia* by the usual methods (*de caelo servando, obnuntiando*).

29. *tua . . . tuorum*: "yourself . . . your friends," an instance of the two constructions (of the person or thing concerned) regular with *interest*.

30. *septemviratu*: a Board of Seven Commissioners, including M. Antonius and his brother Lucius, to make allotments of certain lands in Italy and Sicily. This was one of Antonius' earliest acts on Caesar's death, its purpose being to buy over the veterans of Caesar (the allottees) to his side.

31. *destituisti*: "dropped" him, "left him out." *intervenit*:

"intruded." *Cui* (referring to the indefinite subject of *intervenit*) is dative after *negare*. The person meant is not known.

34. *filiam*: her name was Antonia.

35. *sororem*: "(female) cousin." So again, line 40. So *frater*, "cousin-male." *condicione*: "match," a common meaning. He divorced (*eiecti*) Antonia to marry Fulvia.

36. *probri*: the usual genitive of the charge alleged, viz. an intrigue with Dolabella. *Insimulare* means to trump up a false charge.

42. *impudentiorne*: sc. *fuveris*.

43. *patre*: "the lady's father."

45. *dixeris*: subjunctive in relative causal clause.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 100-107. *You were once again scouring Italy before that date arrived; and you very narrowly escaped never coming back again! I would you never had! You have parcelled out our State-lands amongst your actresses and satellites—so many thousand acres to this one, so many more to that—and have tried to plant colonies on sites already colonised by your dead master, you that call yourself an Augur. And with all these scandals on your head you dared to take up your residence in the house that had once sheltered the noble Varro. Pray how came you to acquire it? I marvel that his bailiff did not turn you out. But there you drank and gamed and worse; and when you left it, your progress was one long insult to the towns through or near which you passed; some you insulted out of sheer insolence, others merely out of spite, because they had chosen to honour our heroes Brutus and Cassius.*

Ch. XXXIX. 3. *quae quidem*: "that is to say, such of them as..." the clauses being consecutive.

7. *ex Kalendis Iuniis*: the Senate had appointed a *consilium*, or committee, to enquire into the *acta Caesaris*. This inquiry is the *cognitio* of line 1; so *cognosceretis*, "make your investigation." They promised to proceed with the *cognitio* on June 1st, but when that date arrived, Antonius was in a position to ignore all his promises with impunity: he had spent the intervening April and May (line 13) in buying over the veterans by his Agrarian Law (xxxviii. 30, *note*), and in touring Italy to see that the law was carried out to the satisfaction of the veterans.

14. *deducere*: see on *deductio*, xxv. 11.

15. *paene non abieris*: apparently there was a riot, which compelled Antonius to make a hasty retreat.

16. *conere*: sc. *coloniam deducere Capuam*. Capua had been a *colonia* of veterans ever since Caesar's law of 59 B.C., and the existing *coloni* objected to any interference with their concerns by Antonius.

19. *illa*: referring to what follows.

20. *vectigalibus*: sc. *agris*, "land subject to tax." Land appropriated for a *colonia* ceased to be *vectigalis ager*. The reference is again to Caesar's agrarian law of 59 B.C.

23. *dividebas*: for the force of the imperfect, cp. *imponebas* xxxiv. 15.

25. **Leontino**: xvii. 13, note. **quoniam quidem**: "(as I might well do), seeing that, etc."

26. **arationes**: technical word for areas of *ager publicus* under cultivation, as distinct from pasture-lands and forestry.

28. **ferebantur**: "were accounted." **medico**: sc. *dedisti*. So with *quid*, sc. *dedisses*.

29 **sanasset**: "made a sane man of you." **rhethori**: see xvii. 13.

Ch. XL. 1. Casilinum: a town of North Campania, on the river Volturnus, about eight miles north of Capua. It was the point at which the Appian and Latin roads from Rome united. It had been made a *colonia* by Caesar, and it was therefore more than doubtful whether Antonius could legally propose to refound it.

2. **tu quidem**: the force of *quidem* is: you asked my opinion as to the legality of refounding Capua, but not about Casilinum; but I should have given you the same answer *if you had asked me*, viz. that it was illegal.

3. **possesne**: subjunctive in a dependent clause of indirect (*i.e.* reported) question, depending on *consuluisti*.

5. **auspicato**: "with due regard to the auspices," which were of course consulted in a *deductio*. Being an augur himself, Antonius need not have referred the matter to his fellow-augur Cicero.

7. **colonos novos adscribi**: "that additional colonists might be enrolled," without interference with those already existing.

9. **paucis annis ante**: *i.e.* by the Lex Julia of 59 B.C.

10. **ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres**: the clauses are consecutive ("in such a way that you raised," etc.). The foundation of a colony, being in its origin a military measure, was conducted with military forms, the *Coloni* marching to the spot with flags flying. The territory allocated was then marked out by a plough-furrow, and subsequently sub-divided into the needful number of allotments.

14. **M. Varronis**: called "the most learned of the Romans" for his antiquarian knowledge and his prodigious literary output, said to number nearly 500 books. He died in 37 B.C.

15. **Casinatem**: "at Casinum," for which see xvi. 19, note. **quo ore?** we should say "how had you the face to do so?"

16. **L. Rubrii . . . L. Turselii**: see §§ 40, 41. Rubrius was himself a native of Casinum, as probably was Turselius also.

18. **ab hasta**: "from (*i.e.* by means of) public auction," *i.e.* confiscation, for Varro was a Pompeian. See xxvi. 3. *Valere* here = "hold good," "be valid." *Tabulae* is used in two senses. In the first instance it means "schedule" of sale, referred to in xxix. 29; in the second, it refers to the *tabulae* of the temple of Ops (xxxvii. 2) "account books." By the former Antonius, as purchaser of Pompeius' confiscated estates, put himself in debt (*quibus debuisti*, where *quibus* is ablative of instrument); by the latter he rid himself from his debts (*quibus . . . liberavisti*).

19. **modo**: = *dummodo*, "provided they be" (sc. *sint*).

23. **qui emeret**: the antecedent (*e.g.* "an agent") is readily supplied.

24. **magnum fuit**: "it would have been too serious a delay." Cp. x. 7.

25. **curae**: predicative dative, *pluribus* being that of the person concerned.

27. **ut redderes**: *scripsit* virtually = *imperavit* and is constructed like it.

28. **gladios**: of Antonius' armed supporters, especially on Varro's estate.

31. **aliam . . . tuae**: *i.e.* we are ready (for the sake of concord) to uphold Cæsar's genuine directions, but not those inspired by your overweening audacity. For *hasta*, cp. line 18.

Ch. XLI. 2. ab hora tertia: "from nine in the morning."

3. **ludabatur**: so we speak of gambling as "gaming." The imperfects are used impersonally. **quam dispari domino**: a quotation from some unknown tragic poet; *domino* is ablative of cause, depending on *misera*.

6. **voluit**: sc. *esse*. With *illud*, sc. *praedium*.

7. **deversorium**: the regular word for a "hostelry," "resting-place" (literally "a place to turn aside to").

8. **iura . . . monimenta . . . ratio**: in reference to Varro's various works on law, antiquities, and philosophy.

10. **te inquilino**: ablative of attendant circumstance (ablative absolute). *Inquilinus* (from *in-colere*) is a "tenant," as opposed to *dominus*, an "owner."

13. **meritoriis**: "hirelings." **familias**: the archaic genitive singular, regularly retained in the expressions *pater familias*, *mater familias*.

14. **Casino**: ablative of place whence. So *Aquino* and *Interamna*. These were the nearest towns to Casinum, about eight miles away west and south-west respectively. The subject to *veniebant* is indefinite, "people." *Salutatum* is supine.

15. **in**: "in the case of."

16. **obsolefiebant . . . insignia**: "such marks of respect (as the *salutatio*, or paying of formal calls) were degraded."

18. **municipium**: see on xxiv. 9.

19. **operta**: the opposite of *aperta*, xxiv. 2, "with curtains drawn."

20. **stulte**: sc. *fecerunt*, "it was foolish (or idle) of the people of Aquinum to do so," *i.e.* to offer him a formal reception.

21. **via**: the Via Latina, direct from Casinum to Rome. **Anagnini**: "the men of Anagnia," a town of the Hernici, in central Latium, situated on a hill (hence *descenderunt*) a few miles to the right of the road. If the Aquinates, who lived on the road, were fools, what were the Anagnini, who lived some miles off it, and yet put themselves out to pay Antonius a compliment?

22. **essent**: subjunctive in concessive clause (*cum* = "although").

25. **praesertim cum**: "and that too though . . ." **Mustelam et**

Laconem: Mustela was mentioned in iv. 13. Laco was another of Antonius' bullies, and a toper.

26. **gladiorum:** for the genitive, cp. *belli princeps*, xxix. 13.

29. **Sidicinos . . . Puteolanos:** the former dwelt in or near Teanum Sidicinum, near the northern border of Campania, on the Via Latina. The latter are the inhabitants of Puteoli, now Pozzuoli, on the Campanian coast between Naples and the Punta di Miseno, looking south over the Bay of Naples.

30. **patronos adoptassent:** it was a common thing for the inhabitants of a *municipium* in Italy, or even of a whole province, to constitute themselves *clientes* of some distinguished Roman, partly by way of compliment to him (as here), partly to secure his services in the furtherance of their own interests (as when the Sicilians made Cicero their *patronus*, to protect them from the misgovernment of Verres). **magno quidem studio:** a verb must be supplied, *e.g.* "treated."

32. **vestri:** the objective genitive of *ros*, viz. Antonius and Basilus. Nothing is known of the latter, but that he was evidently a creature of Antonius.

33. **non modo:** i.e. *dico*, "I do not only say," "much less." **illorum cliens esse:** i.e. to constitute them his *patroni*.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 107-111. *While you were afield, your colleague behaved like a good citizen, but your return speedily spoilt him. Your very entry into Rome outdid that of Sulla or of Cinna; and your armed bravos scared us from the Senate House. But this mattered little to you, since you could manage so well without the Senate's aid, ringing the changes at your pleasure upon provinces and governorships, and ignoring even the provisions of Caesar's will. And all the while you boast that you are so jealous of Caesar's memory! Pray, are you not his Flamen—high-priest of a man, and a dead man too!—and is not this the very day which was to be held a festival in your dead god's honour? Inconsistent again, you will hardly explain away this inconsistency. You are not so clever a speaker as was your grand-sire, though heaven knows he never laid bare his breast as you have done.*

Ch. XLII. 1. **collegae:** Dolabella, the *consul suffectus*.

2. **bustum:** the monument erected in the Forum upon the spot where Caesar's body had been burned.

4. **concidisti:** "fainted," "collapsed."

6. **de caelo detraxisti:** "dragged him down from the sky," i.e. persuaded him to come down from the lofty standpoint which he had taken in politics (as an opponent of Antonius, and therefore *bonus*, "a patriot").

11. **erant:** viz. in the days of the despotisms of Cinna, Sulla, and Caesar.

13. **agmine quadrato:** "in marching order," in a hollow square with the *impedimenta* in the centre, like an *agmen* (column) on the march. The subject of *sequuntur* is indefinite. **scutorum lecticas:**

"littersful of shields." The genitive is akin to that after verbs of filling, cf. *cadus vini*, "a cask (full of) wine."

14. *his*: "such conduct," "such sights."

16. *Kalendis Iuniis*: on the occasion referred to in xxxix. 7.

18. *egeret*: subjunctive in causal relative clause, "inasmuch as he had no need." *neque . . . et . . .*: "did not . . . but rather . . .," as usual.

21. *defendisset*: subjunctive in concessive relative clause.

23. *numerus . . . prorogavit*: "extended the term of years (allowed) for the (tenure of the) provinces." Caesar had ruled that consular provinces should not be held by the same governor for more than two years, nor praetorian provinces for more than one year. Antonius caused a law to be passed extending the tenure (apparently only in certain cases) to five (or six) years.

24. *deberet*: subjunctive in concessive clause.

26. *publicis*: sc. *rebus*, as also with *privatis*.

27. *sine promulgatione*: "without promulgation" of the new law which cancelled the old. Constitutional procedure required a notice (*promulgatio*) of at least seventeen days (*trium nundinum*).

28. *testamentum*: sc. *Caesaris*.

29. *inimicis civibus*: dative of interest: "in case of the meanest citizens," let alone of Caesar.

30. *signa, tabulas . . . hortis*: "statuary, pictures . . . pleasure-grounds."

31. *Pompei*: see xxvii. 26.

32. *Scipionis*: the *villa aliena* of xvii. 2.

Ch. XLIII. 3. *pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem*: various attributes of divinity. The *pulvinar* was the ceremonial "couch" upon which was exposed the *simulacrum*, "statue," of the deity on occasions of public thanksgiving, mourning, or intercession. *Fastigium* is the triangular gable which overhangs the front of a Roman temple. Such a gable was erected over the house in which Julius Caesar had resided as Pontifex Maximus. A *flamen* ("kindler") was attached as priest to most divinities, but more particularly to Jupiter (*Flamen Dialis*), to Mars, and to Quirinus. When Caesar was deified, he also received his *flamen*, viz. M. Antonius.

6. *inauguraris*: "get yourself consecrated" as *flamen*. This ceremony answered to our "ordination" into the ministry.

7. *vide qui . . . inauguret*: "find an augur to consecrate you." An augur was necessary; hence *collegae sumus*, for Cicero, like Antonius, was one of the College of Augurs.

9. *mortui*: for it is profanity to speak of the "priest" of a mere mortal.

11. *ludorum*: which were held September 15th to 18th, so that the fourth day was also the last. But a fifth day was added on Antonius' motion, so that from 43 B.C. onward the games lasted five days. *Heri* shows that this speech purports to be delivered on September 19th.

12. *Caesari*: "in Caesar's honour."

13. *praetextati*: "dressed in our robes of state." For the *praetexta*, see on xviii. 3. It was worn by all officials when acting in an official capacity or on great occasions, and so virtually = "holiday-dress."

14. *supplicationes*: see on vi. 6. Antonius further passed a resolution that to all *supplicationes* there should be added an extra day in honour of Caesar. As Caesar (says Cicero) was only a mortal after all, to introduce his name in such a connection was to profane (*contaminari*) the sacred character of a *supplicatio*. Further, as this (September 19th) was the fifth day which Antonius had proposed to add to the *ludi Romani in Circo*, there should (had the proposal been carried out) have been displayed a *pulvinar* with a *simulacrum* of *divus Iulius*. As Antonius, the *flamen divi Iulii*, had failed to see that the fifth day was duly added and honoured, Cicero concludes that it must be because he hesitated to profane the *pulvinaria* in this fashion. Then why did he not hesitate to profane the *supplicationes*? It is another instance of Antonius' inconsistency.

21. *quid ad haec tandem*: sc. *respondebis*? *Tandem*, as usual, merely strengthening the interrogation.

23. *apertio*: Cicero jests upon the double meaning of *apertus*, viz. (1) "candid," and (2) "naked." The phrase *pectus apertum* was proverbial for what we call "the naked truth," but there is a further play upon *pectus* in its literal sense. The allusion is of course to Antonius' haranguing the people in his dress of a *Lupercus*. See § 86.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 112-114. *Once again I ask you, why all these armed bravos around us? Are you then afraid to walk abroad without a body-guard of savages? Believe me they will avail you little, if Rome should once decide to treat you as it has treated a better man, your master. We have our Liberators still, prepared once more to serve their country; or failing them, we have always the noble example which they have left to us. As Tarquin died, as Cassius and Maelius and Manlius died, so died Cæsar, and so you too will die, if you do not mend your ways.*

[Refer to the Index of Proper Names for Tarquinius, Spurius Cassius, Servilius Ahala, and M. Manlius.]

Ch. XLIV. 2. *hunc unum diem*: "(your conduct on) this one single day."

4. *corona*: regularly used of a "ring" of bystanders, onlookers, etc.

6. *Concordiae*: sc. *aedis*. See on vii. 3. The Senate usually sat with open doors. On this occasion they are supposed to be closed; to keep out Antonius' violent partizans, Cicero suggests.

7. *Ityraeos*: viii. 20, note.

10. *nullum*: "worth nothing," "valueless."

13. *tibi*: dative of the indirect object after a verb of taking away.

14. *nobis*: i.e. the Senatorial party, in the fight which Cicero sees to be impending. *nobiscum egeris*: "deal with us," "treat us." *Uteris* is future-simple.

17. *coniunx*: Fulvia.

18. *tertiam pensionem*: "instalment number three" of her debt to her country. She had been the ruin of her two husbands (Clodius and Curio, both enemies to the State), and as a last payment of her debt to the Roman People (the money she had robbed them of, see § 95), the latter demanded her third husband (Antonius himself).

19. *habet*: the allusion is to the *liberatores* (line 31).

20. *terrarum*: partitive genitive, depending on *ubicunque*. Cp. *quo locorum*? "where?"

24. *quam volent*: "as much as they please." Cp. *quamvis*, literally "as much as you please." The tense of *volent* is due to the future force in the jussive *cedant*, all commands being logically concerned with the future.

34. *cum . . . licebat*: "when the monarchy was lawful," in contrast with the present time, when the only constitutional form of government was the Republican.

41. *capī*: "to be contained." For *capio* in this sense cp. vii. 18.

43. *mortali*: dative of the agent, according to rule, after a gerundive.

ARGUMENT.—§§ 115—End. *Bethink you of your better deeds in the past, and let the praises which you then gained prompt you to better things again. Or if this fails, let fear do what nobler motives fail to do. Caesar was a far abler man than you, yet Caesar died. I warn you that we have learnt our lesson:—we know how glorious a thing it is to cut down the would-be tyrant. Be wise while yet there is time; make your peace with your country, if not with me. For I fear you not, any more than years ago I feared Catiline. You may kill me if you will, and I care not, if at my death I can see my country still free, and can feel that you will have your reward, even as I mine.*

Ch. XLV. 2. *dictaturam sustulisti*: see on xxxvi. 20.

4. *nundinatione*: "trafficking." Cp. *nundinis*, xxxvi. 34.

10. *iudicia*: "the law."

12. *quid timendum sit*: viz. assassination, such as had overtaken Caesar.

16. *timere a suis*: "to go in fear (of danger) from one's own followers."

17. *ille*: Caesar.

22. *multos annos . . . meditatus*: Cicero begs the question on which the critics are still divided. It is very probable that Caesar did not think of despotism until it was forced upon him.

24. *muneribus*: a common term for the shows of gladiators, etc., which Roman magistrates were called upon to provide. *congiariis*: "largess." Originally it denoted a gift of oil (from *congius*, a liquid measure = six pints approximately).

26. *quid multa*: sc. *dicam*. So we say: "Why say more?" mean- in "in short."

Ch. XLVI. 2. *ceteris rebus*: ablative of respect.

4. *inusta*: "burnt in" like the indelible scar of a branding-iron.

8. **re . . . beneficio . . . fama** : ablatives of respect; "glorious in the doing," "pleasing in the benefit it confers," etc. The doctrine that tyrannicide is in all cases laudable was borrowed by Rome from Greece. In Greece its truth was in no wise considered to depend upon the character of the despot or the circumstances which made him despot. On neither of these grounds is it possible to defend the murder of Caesar.

11. **occasionis tarditas** : "the tardy appearance of an opportunity." The assassins will make, not await, their opportunity.

14. **mecum** : sc. *age*, "treat me."

15. **videris** : future perfect.

19. **obtulerim** : potential subjunctive, "I would (if need were) willingly offer." **repraesentari** : "be realised at once." "be made a present reality," the metaphor being from paying *money down*.

22. **annos** : the accusative, not the ablative, is the regular construction with *abhinc*, which in classical prose always refers to the past, and precedes the noun it belongs to. It was, in effect, nineteen years as we reckon it, twenty according to the Romans' inclusive manner of counting, since the occasion alluded to, viz. the Fourth (and last) Speech against Catilina, December 5th, 63 B.C.

24. **seni** : sc. *immaturum esse*.

25. **quas adeptus sum** : referring to his *honores*.

28. **hoc** : ablative. Cicero did not see his wish realised, for when he died Rome was under the yoke of the Triumvirs, Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavianus—a yoke far heavier and less merciful than that of Caesar.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

A.

Antonius, -i, m.: four persons of this name are mentioned in the speech. (1) **M. Antonius**, grandfather of No. 4. He was consul (§ 70) in 99 B.C., and was put to death amongst many others of the senatorian party by the democratic revolutionaries Marius and Cinna in 87 B.C. He was an orator of considerable ability, and is more than once spoken of by Cicero in terms of praise (§ 42). He received a commission to act against the pirates in 102 B.C., but effected little or nothing. (2) **M. Antonius Creticus**, son of No. 1 and father of No. 4. He obtained his *cognomen* of Creticus in mockery of his ill-success in dealing with the Cretan pirates, as *propraetor*, 74 B.C. His wife was a Julia, a relative of C. Julius Caesar. According to Cicero his estate was so heavily encumbered on his death, that his son (No. 4) publicly refused to accept the inheritance (§ 42). (3) **C. Antonius Hybrida**, brother of No. 2 and uncle of No. 4, and father of a daughter Antonia who became the second wife of No. 4, was colleague of Cicero in the consulship of 63 B.C. He was a man of disreputable life. In the year 70 B.C. he was degraded from the Senate, but soon regained his position, probably in the next censorship, 67 B.C. Cicero alleges that he was actually implicated in the Catilinarian conspiracy, and that his loyalty was only secured by Cicero's surrendering to him the prospective government of the wealthy province of Macedonia; but it was C. Antonius who ultimately defeated Catilina at the battle of Pistoria. His governorship was so extortionate that he was banished, and Cicero remarks that his nephew (No. 4), though he recalled from exile a number of bad characters, did not extend this charity to his uncle (§ 70). He was probably recalled by Caesar, for he was in the Senate House on January 1st, 44 B.C. (§ 98). His nephew subsequently put him forward as a candidate for the censorship; but had not the impudence to prosecute his intention at the polls (§ 99). (4) **Marcus Antonius**, the Triumvir. His career up to the date of the delivery of this speech is sketched in the Introduction. After that date (September 19th, 44 B.C.) he found his position in Rome so uncomfortable, partly owing to the vigorous attacks of Cicero, partly because of the growing popularity of C. Octavianus (Augustus), that he presently

withdrew, and collecting what troops he could, marched into Cisalpine Gaul to wrest that province from the Liberator D. Brutus, whom he speedily shut up within the walls of Mutina (*Modena*). The consuls of 43 B.C. received orders to relieve Mutina, which they succeeded in doing at the cost of their own lives, Antonius withdrawing into Transalpine Gaul. A few weeks later he returned with Aemilius Lepidus, and at Bononia (*Bologna*) met Octavianus. The three formed a Triumvirate for their own ends, and, marching upon Rome, seized the reins of government. The leading senatorians were proscribed, Cicero being amongst the victims. In the following year, at Philippi in Macedonia, M. Brutus and C. Cassius were defeated and slain, and opposition to the Triumvirate broken. The Triumvirs now divided the Empire amongst themselves, but Lepidus was speedily got rid of, and by a further arrangement Octavianus took Italy and the West, while to Antonius fell the Eastern portion of the Empire. This included Egypt, whose queen Cleopatra speedily fascinated Antonius to such a degree that he not only neglected his governmental duties, but made her his queen and (so it was said) proposed to confer Roman provinces as kingdoms upon her various sons. Octavianus found herein an excuse for attacking his rival, 31 B.C. The two met at Actium, on the west coast of central Greece. There Antonius and Cleopatra, with a vast Egyptian fleet, were completely defeated, and their land-forces at once joined the conqueror. Antonius fled back with Cleopatra to Alexandria, where both committed suicide. The picture which Cicero draws of Antonius must be accepted with caution. There is no doubt that he was often unscrupulous, always a loose-liver, and in the later years of his life a hopeless renegade; but the mere fact that Caesar made much of him is proof that he had considerable ability, and he showed unquestioned talent, when a young man, as a cavalry-officer. Antonius was five times married, to the following: (1) Fadia, the daughter of a *libertinus* (§ 3); (2) Antonia, his cousin (§ 99); (3) Fulvia, daughter of M. Bambalio (§ 90); (4) Octavia, sister of C. Octavianus; (5) Cleopatra. One son, the child of Fulvia, is mentioned in § 90. He was put to death by Octavianus in 30 B.C. (The woman Volumnia of § 58, otherwise Cytheris, was not his wife).

B.

Brundisium, -i, n.: now *Brindisi* in Italy. As the terminus of the *Via Appia* it was the usual port from which Romans sailed for Greece. From here Pompeius crossed to Dyrrhachium in 49 B.C., and Caesar in the next year, at which time it was the headquarters of M. Antonius, as officer commanding the lines of communication for Caesar. When Cicero returned to Italy after Pharsalus he landed here (the occasion on which his life was spared by Antonius).

Brutus, -i, m.: two branches of the *Gens Iunia* bore the *cognomen* of Brutus. The first was patrician, and came to an end in the first year of the Republic; the second was plebeian, and produced the two Bruti

who aided in the murder of Caesar. (1) **L. Junius Brutus**, first consul of Rome, 510 B.C. See the note on xi. 15, and also xlv. 33. (2) **M. Junius Brutus**, the Liberator. He claimed descent on the mother's side from Servilius Ahala (*q.v.*), who saved Rome from the alleged attempt of Sp. Maelius to make himself king, 439 B.C.; and on the father's side was popularly, but wrongly, believed to be descended from the patrician L. Brutus, who expelled the Tarquins. Originally a supporter of Pompeius, he fought at Pharsalus, and owed his life to Caesar, who pardoned him, and advanced him to the office of *praetor urbanus* for 44 B.C. Brutus, however, was led by a mistaken philosophy, and by the suggestions of friends who reminded him of what his ancestors had done for "freedom," to fancy that it was his duty to rid Rome of Caesar, and thus became the nominal leader of the conspiracy. After the murder he left Rome, and presently withdrew to the province of Macedonia, originally allotted to him by Caesar, in defiance of the various new arrangements by which Antonius had sought to obtain that province for himself or his allies. In Macedonia he raised the Republican army which was destroyed at Philippi (42 B.C.), Brutus committing suicide after his defeat. He married Porcia, sister of M. Porcius Cato Uticensis. (3) **Decimus Brutus**, a relative of No. 2, was also one of the conspirators, and governor-designate of Gallia Cisalpina. He endeavoured to maintain himself in that province against Antonius, but was shut up in Mutina (*Modena*), and presently compelled to fly. While attempting to reach M. Brutus in Greece he was seized and put to death by a Gaulish chief named Camelus. Like No. 2, he claimed descent from the family of Servilius Ahala (§ 16).

C.

Caesar, -āris, m.: (1) **L. Julius Caesar**, a cousin of the Dictator, was consul 64 B.C. His sister Iulia married (*a*) M. Antonius Creticus, father of the Triumvir, to whom he was therefore related as uncle by marriage (*avunculus*); (*b*) P. Lentulus Sura, the Catilinarian. He is mentioned in § 14 as a leading supporter of Cicero's action in regard to the conspiracy of 63 B.C., although this attitude compelled him to vote for the execution of his own brother-in-law. (2) **C. Julius Caesar**, the Dictator. See Introduction.

Cassius, -i, m.: (1) **Spurius Cassius**, the legendary author of the League of Rome with the Latins, was accused of aiming at the kingship and was put to death on that ground probably by his own father (§§ 26, 114) in the year 486 B.C. (2) **C. Cassius Longinus**, the Liberator, claimed to be descended from the same family to which No. 1 belonged. A partizan of Pompeius, he owed his life to Caesar's clemency after Pharsalus, yet he joined the Liberators, and ranked with his brother-in-law, M. Brutus, as a ring-leader in the conspiracy. He was *praetor peregrinus* for that year, with Syria as his prospective province, but Antonius cancelled this appointment, substituting a commission to control the corn-supply, with Cyrene, as

his province. Cassius, declining to acknowledge the validity of this arrangement, made his way to Syria, raised forces there, and joining Brutus in Macedonia, was defeated at Philippi by the Triumvirs in 42 B.C., committing suicide to escape capture.

Catilina, -ae, m.: L. Sergius Catilina, the famous leader of the so-called Conspiracy of Catilina. A patrician by birth, he had ruined himself by profligate living, and to rehabilitate his broken fortunes he desired to obtain the consulship, or failing this, to lead a revolution. His intrigues are alleged to have commenced in 66 B.C., and to have been prosecuted with increasing vigour until finally suppressed in 63 B.C. Cicero, consul in that year, took to himself all the credit for the suppression of the plot, which he effected, firstly by attacking Catilina so vehemently that the latter was compelled to leave Rome, and secondly by securing the arrest and immediate execution of five of his most notable accomplices, viz. Lentulus Sura, Cethegus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Ceparinus. The principal piece of evidence of their guilt was certain correspondence alleged to have passed between the conspirators and some Gauls of the tribe of the Allobroges, at that time present in Rome as envoys to the Senate. Catilina in person, on leaving Rome, joined a small number of malcontents who had risen in N. Etruria; and giving battle to C. Antonius Hybrida, Cicero's colleague in 63 B.C., was by him defeated and slain with all his adherents at Pistoria (now *Pistoia*) near Florence, in January, 62 B.C. Whether the alleged plot was as formidable as Cicero represented it to be is very doubtful, as also is the legality of the execution of the conspirators. Cicero (§ 1) acknowledges that Catilina had every reason to be hostile to him, and that it was himself (Cicero) who began the quarrel.

Cato, -ōnis, m.: M. Porcius Cato, surnamed Uticensis, from the circumstances of his death. He was the great-grandson of the elder Cato, the leader of the conservative party against the liberalism of the Scipios in the first half of the second century B.C. These conservative principles he adopted in a yet more uncompromising form, combining them with a most bigoted Stoicism, and felt himself bound by the traditions of his family to oppose everybody and everything that was not of the strict old Republican type. He therefore strongly supported Cicero against Catilina, and violently opposed both Pompeius and Caesar at different periods. It is largely to his obstinate attitude that the failure of Caesar to come to terms with Pompeius before 49 B.C. is to be attributed. After the defeat and death of Pompeius, Cato withdrew to Africa to organise the new Republican force which was annihilated by Caesar at Thapsus, 46 B.C. After the defeat, Cato withdrew to Utica, near Carthage, and there committed suicide. He never attained to consular rank, but Cicero cites him as amongst those who approved of Cicero's proceedings when consul (§ 12).

Catulus, -i, m.: Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul 78 B.C., and a leading member of the senatorian party, is mentioned as one of the *consulares* who approved of Cicero's measures against the Catilinarians (§ 12).

Cilicia, -ae, f.: Cilicia, the name of the rugged country along the

south shore of Asia Minor from the Gulf of Issus (*Skanderoun*) westward to the confines of Lycia. It was constituted a province of Rome in 64 B.C., and was the sphere of Cicero's only provincial governorship, 51 B.C. In § 26 Cicero mentions an otherwise unknown attempt upon the life of Caesar by Cassius, which occurred at Tarsus on the river Cydnus, presumably in 47 B.C., when Caesar was moving from Alexandria to meet Pharnaces of Pontus at the battle of Ziela.

Cimber, -bri, m.: L. Tillius Cimber, the son of a *libertinus*, was at first a partizan of Pompeius, but subsequently made his peace with Caesar, who appointed him prospective governor of Bithynia. Nevertheless Cimber joined the conspiracy, and escaping to his province, busied himself in raising forces for the Republican army which was defeated at Philippi (§ 27).

Cinna, -ae, m.: L. Cornelius Cinna, the colleague of Marius as leader of the democrats against the Senate and Sulla (*q.v.*). Expelled for the moment by Sulla in 88 B.C., they instantly returned, seized the city, and removed by proscription hundreds of their opponents of the senatorial party. Marius died very shortly after, but Cinna retained his despotic position for four years, until Sulla was already about to return from the East, when Cinna's troops deserted wholesale to his rival and tore their commander to pieces at Ancona, 84 B.C. (§ 108).

Clodius, -i, m.: three persons of the name are mentioned in the speech. (1) **Sextus Clodius**, a rhetorician under whom Antonius is said to have studied and whom he is alleged to have rewarded with a gift of 2000 *iugera* of land at Leontini. According to Cicero his teaching was not worth the price (§§ 8, 43). (2) **Sextus Clodius**, a man of loose habits, and a political partizan of No. 3. He had been banished in 52 B.C., after his patron's murder, and Cicero alleges that Antonius revoked his banishment, on the strength of a forged memorandum of Caesar's (§ 9). (3) **Publius Clodius Pulcher**, a dissolute young patrician who was indicted in 62 B.C. for an alleged profanation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. Cicero, summoned as a witness, was compelled to give evidence against Clodius, and this fact the latter, although actually acquitted, would not forgive. To revenge himself on Cicero he got himself adopted into a plebeian *gens*, and forthwith offered himself for the tribunate (which only plebeians could occupy). Holding this office in 58 B.C., he at once moved a bill which entailed Cicero's banishment, as having illegally put to death certain *eives* (*viz.* the Catilinarians). At first a supporter of Caesar and Pompeius, he soon quarrelled with them, and stood forward as a democratic agitator of the most violent and radical type. His position was challenged by T. Annius Milo, representing the senatorian party, and the quarrels of the two leaders filled Rome with riot and violence. Cicero alleges that Antonius, when candidate for the quaestorship in 53 B.C., tried to murder Clodius (§ 21); and he met that fate in the next year at the hands of Milo (§ 21). Cicero further alleges that all Clodius' violence was due to the promptings of Antonius (§ 48), for which there is no evidence at all. Cicero naturally

detested him, because it was to him that the orator owed his banishment (58-57 B.C.). The most important of Clodius' laws, so far as regards this speech, was that which deprived magistrates of the right of *nuntiatio*. See the note on xxxii. 28.

Cotta, -ae, m. : L. Aurelius, consul 65 B.C., censor 64 B.C. He supported Cicero in his measures against the Catilinarians, moving the resolution by which the senate declared a *supplicatio* (vi. 6) in Cicero's honour; and warmly advocated Cicero's recall from exile in 57 B.C., he being then *princeps senatus*.

Crassus, -i, m. : M. Licinius Crassus Dives, the wealthiest of the Roman equites. Politically he usually acted in unison with Caesar and Pompeius, who valued him for his enormous financial influence. The three formed the First Triumvirate of 60 B.C., in return for which Crassus received a commission to make war upon the Parthians and secure Rome's eastern frontiers on the Euphrates. In pursuit of this object he crossed the Euphrates in 53 B.C., and at Carrhae (*Harar*) in Mesopotamia lost both his army and his life. "He was my opponent in politics, but a gentleman," says Cicero (§ 7), and he approved of Cicero's doings as regards Catilina.

Curio, -ōnis, m. : C. Scribonius Curio, originally a sound senatorian, subsequently joined Caesar, and getting himself elected tribune 50 B.C., used his position in such a way as to precipitate the Civil War; although it cannot be shown that he had any object save the thwarting of the extreme measures of the Pompeian party. Cicero paints him in the blackest colours and declares that his was the bad influence which spoilt Antonius (§§ 3, 45), for whom he acted as bribery-agent (§ 4). On the outbreak of the war he was sent by Caesar to act in Africa, where he fell in battle near Utica. It was in allusion to the mischief he did by deserting the Senate that Lucan wrote the famous line (*Pharsalia*, iv., 819)

Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,

"It was the ratting of Curio that turned the scale of events." His father (*Curio pater*), mentioned in § 12 and § 45, was consul 76 B.C. and a bitter opponent of Caesar.

Cydnus, -i, m. : the river of Cilicia, at the mouth of which stood the town of Tarsus, the capital of the province of Cilicia (*q.v.*). It is now the river *Tersus*. It was at the mouth of this river that Cicero (§ 26) alleges that C. Cassius just failed in an attempt to assassinate Caesar.

D.

Deiotārus, -i, m. : originally tetrarch of Galatia, was by Pompeius, with the approval of the Senate, placed on the throne of Lesser Armenia. From the latter kingdom he was driven out by a rival claimant, and Caesar subsequently deprived him of his tetrarchy also, for having supported Pompeius in the Civil War. According to Cicer.

he intrigued with Antonius to secure his restoration for an enormous bribe, but in the meantime recovered his tetrarchy by force in the confusion which followed Caesar's murder. Cicero had acted for him in the Roman Courts (45 B.C.), when accused of plotting against Caesar's life, in the still extant speech *pro Deiotaro* (§ 93).

Dolabella -ae, m.: P. Cornelius Dolabella was husband of Cicero's daughter Tullia. He fought on the side of Caesar with distinction at Pharsalus, Thapsus, and Munda (§ 75), being wounded in the latter battle. His courage recommended him to Caesar, who promised him a consulship for 44 B.C. In the event, however, M. Antonius was returned consul with Caesar, and Dolabella's disappointment vented itself in a furious attack upon Antonius in the Senate House on January 1st, 44 B.C. Antonius in return avenged himself by threatening "to frustrate Dolabella's return at any subsequent *comitia*." This happened probably in February of the same year, when an election was held to appoint a *consul suffectus* in lieu of Caesar, who intended to resign the office. There was grave doubt as to the legality of Antonius' obstruction, and the question was to have been debated in the Senate on the very day of Caesar's murder. Dolabella appears to have taken office, however, after that event, without question, and showed considerable vigour in repressing disorder. Antonius presently won him over by transferring to him the province of Syria, which he took from C. Cassius. On reaching his province in 43 B.C. Dolabella seized and executed C. Trebonius, one of the Liberators. For this the Senate declared him an outlaw, and Cassius, attacking him with armed forces, compelled him to commit suicide (§§ 75, 79, 90).

Domitius, -i, m.: (1) **L. Domitius Ahenobarbus**, a leading senatorian, killed by Antonius at Pharsalus (§ 71). (2) **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus**, son of the above, defended Massilia (*Marseilles*) against Caesar and Trebonius in 49 B.C. His mother was Porcia, sister of the M. Porcius Cato who killed himself at Utica. He was one of the conspirators, according to Cicero, though this is denied by other writers. If he was of their number he had the distinction of being the only one of them who died a natural death; for he escaped from Philippi, was restored to favour by both Antonius and Octavianus, and finally died of fever (§ 27).

F.

Figulus, -i, m.: C. Figulus, consul 64 B.C., supported the policy of Cicero towards the Catilinarians (§ 12).

G.

Gabinus, -i, m.: Aulus Gabinus, tribune 67 B.C., was governor of Syria 56 B.C., when he used his opportunity to invade Egypt and restore to the throne Ptolemy Auletes, who had been expelled by his subjects in 58 B.C. Inasmuch as the Senate had formally decreed that no interference was permissible on Ptolemy's behalf, and had obtained

a Sibylline confirmation of their decision, the action of Gabinius was *contra Senatus auctoritatem et religiones* (§ 48). As he was not of Cicero's party in politics, the orator gives him a bad character, declaring that he was a very suitable commander to have M. Antonius for his *legatus*, alluding to the fact that Antonius served under him in the Egyptian campaign.

Glabrio, -ōnis, m. : Manius Glabrio, consul 67 B.C., superseded L. Lucullus in the command against Mithradates in the following year, and was himself superseded in the same year by Pompeius. He is mentioned as one of the *consulares* who approved Cicero's attitude as regards the Catilinarians (§ 12).

H.

Hortensius, -i, m. : Q. Hortensius, the most distinguished member of the Roman bar, until superseded by Cicero, who, as prosecutor of the infamous Verres, defeated him in 70 B.C. He was consul in 69 B.C. supported Cicero's anti-Catilinarian policy, and died in 50 B.C. (§ 12).

L.

Lentulus, -i, m. : P. Lentulus Sura, one of the five citizens executed by Cicero on command of the senate in 63 B.C., for complicity in the so-called conspiracy of Catilina. He was a man of bad character, who had been expelled from the senate in 70 B.C., but had nevertheless succeeded in obtaining a praetorship for the year 63 B.C. Antonius seems to have alleged that Cicero refused to surrender Lentulus' body for burial, until over-persuaded by his widow Julia. The latter was mother of Antonius, to whom Lentulus was therefore step-father (*vitricus*). Cicero alleges that Antonius was brought up in his step-father's house (§§ 17, 18).

Lepidus, -i, m. : Manius Aemilius Lepidus, consul 66 B.C., was one of the *consulares* who supported Cicero's vigorous policy against the Catilinarians (§ 12).

Lucullus, -i, m. : Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul 71 B.C., was appointed to conduct the war against Mithradates of Pontus, who was threatening to drive the Romans out of Asia Minor. Lucullus gradually beat him back from the Hellespont to his own kingdom, defeated him disastrously at Cabira (72 B.C.), and forced him to take shelter with Tigranes, king of Armenia. Next, marching into Armenia, Lucullus besieged and took its capital city of Tigranocerta (69 B.C.). Two years later he was superseded by M. Glabrio, and recalled to Rome. In politics he was a staunch senatorian, and as such supported Cicero in his anti-Catilinarian policy. He had a brother Marcus, consul 73 B.C., who gained some success in a Thracian war in the following year and enjoyed a triumph in 71 B.C. (§ 12).

M.

Milo, -ōnis, m. : T. Annius Milo, *s.v.* **CLODIUS**.

Murēna, -ae, m. : L. Licinius Murena supported Cicero's policy in 63 B.C., being at the time consul-designate for the following year (§ 12). He was prosecuted in the autumn of 63 B.C. for bribery, and successfully defended by Cicero.

P.

Piso, -ōnis, m. : C. Calpurnius Piso, colleague of Glabrio in the consulship of 67 B.C., supported Cicero against the Catilinarians (§ 12). Cicero successfully defended him when prosecuted for misconduct in his governorship of Narbonese Gaul.

Pompeius, -i, m. : Cn. Pompeius Magnus came to the front in the Civil War of 83-81 B.C., as a partizan of Sulla and the Senate. He gained further credit for putting down the abortive rising of the democrat Lepidus (78-77 B.C.), and the long-standing revolt of Sertorius in Spain (76-71 B.C.). Returning to Rome, he finished the slave-war with Spartacus (71 B.C.). Then, finding that the Senate was unwilling to grant him a triumph for his Spanish exploits, he turned democrat, and led a revolution which undid all the work of the Sullan restoration (70 B.C.). As part of this plan he encouraged Cicero to prosecute Verres in the same year, and the orator believed that he owed to Pompeius this his first great success in public life. Hence the more or less lasting alliance between the two. In 67 B.C. Pompeius was commissioned to put down the Pirates of Cilicia, and succeeding easily in this task, was further entrusted with the conduct of the war with Mithradates of Pontus (66-63 B.C.). This ended, he returned to Italy, and a second time finding the Senate untractable, joined Caesar and Crassus in the First Triumvirate (60 B.C.). The further career of Pompeius is narrated in the Introduction. Cicero was in nothing more consistent than in the loyalty with which he held by Pompeius, so long as the latter's conduct made it possible; and he claims that, even when they differed in politics, they still remained excellent friends. Pompeius' ability as a general and strategist was great, his activity untiring; but he was no statesman, was quite unable to govern except by the aid of military law, and in venturing to quarrel with Caesar completely miscalculated his opponent's strength.

S.

Servilius, -i, m. : (1) Publius and Gaius Servilius, two of the Liberators (§ 27). They claimed descent from (2) C. Servilius Ahala, Master of the Horse to Cincinnatus, when the latter was declared Dictator to deal with Spurius Maelius (439 B.C.), a wealthy plebeian who, for the liberality wherewith he distributed corn to the

starving plebs, had incurred the hostility of the patricians and was accused of aiming at the crown. Ahala summoned him to appear before the Dictator, and on his refusing, stabbed him on the spot. It was traditional in Rome to extol the conduct of the murderer, and to rank him with those who expelled the Tarquins (§§ 25, 87). Servilia, the mother of the Liberator, M. Brutus, was descended from this Servilius Ahala.

Silanus, -i, m. : D. Junius Silanus, when colleague of Murena as consul-designate for 62 B.C., supported Cicero in his policy against the Catilinarians (§ 12).

Sulla, -ae, m. : L. Cornelius Sulla, who first came to the front as a commander in the Social War of 90-88 B.C., led the party of the Optimates, or Senate, against the democratic party under Marius and Cinna. The two factions came to blows as soon as the Social War was ended, as to who should be appointed to prosecute the war against Mithradates, king of Pontus. Sulla won the day, and sailed for the East; but his rivals immediately recovered their power, and exercised complete despotism in Rome for some five years, until Sulla's return in the autumn of 83 B.C. His return led to another Civil War, in which the party of the democracy was completely worsted, and Sulla in his turn became master of Rome. He signalised his triumph by an armed entry into the city and a wholesale proscription of his opponents (§ 108). He remained practical sovereign of Rome under the style of perpetual dictator, from 82 to 79 B.C., when he voluntarily resigned, dying a natural death in 78 B.C. As his violence was exercised on the side of the Senate, Cicero says very little about it. Some of the laws he caused to be passed as dictator were of real and permanent value.

T.

Trebonius, -i, m. : C. Trebonius, one of the Liberators. He had served with distinction as *legatus* to Caesar in Gaul, conducted the siege of Massilia (49 B.C.), and been assisted by Caesar to obtain the rank of praetor and of *consul suffectus* (45 B.C.). It was said that he had in that very year sounded Antonius, who was then at Narbo (§ 34), to discover the latter's real attitude towards Caesar. After the murder he fled like the rest of the conspirators, and presently made his way to the province of Asia, of which he had been led by Caesar to expect the governorship. Here he was seized and put to death by Dolabella in 43 B.C.

V.

Volcatius, -i, m. : L. Volcatius Tullus, colleague of Lepidus in the consulate of 66 B.C, supported Cicero's policy as regards the Catilinarians (§ 12).

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